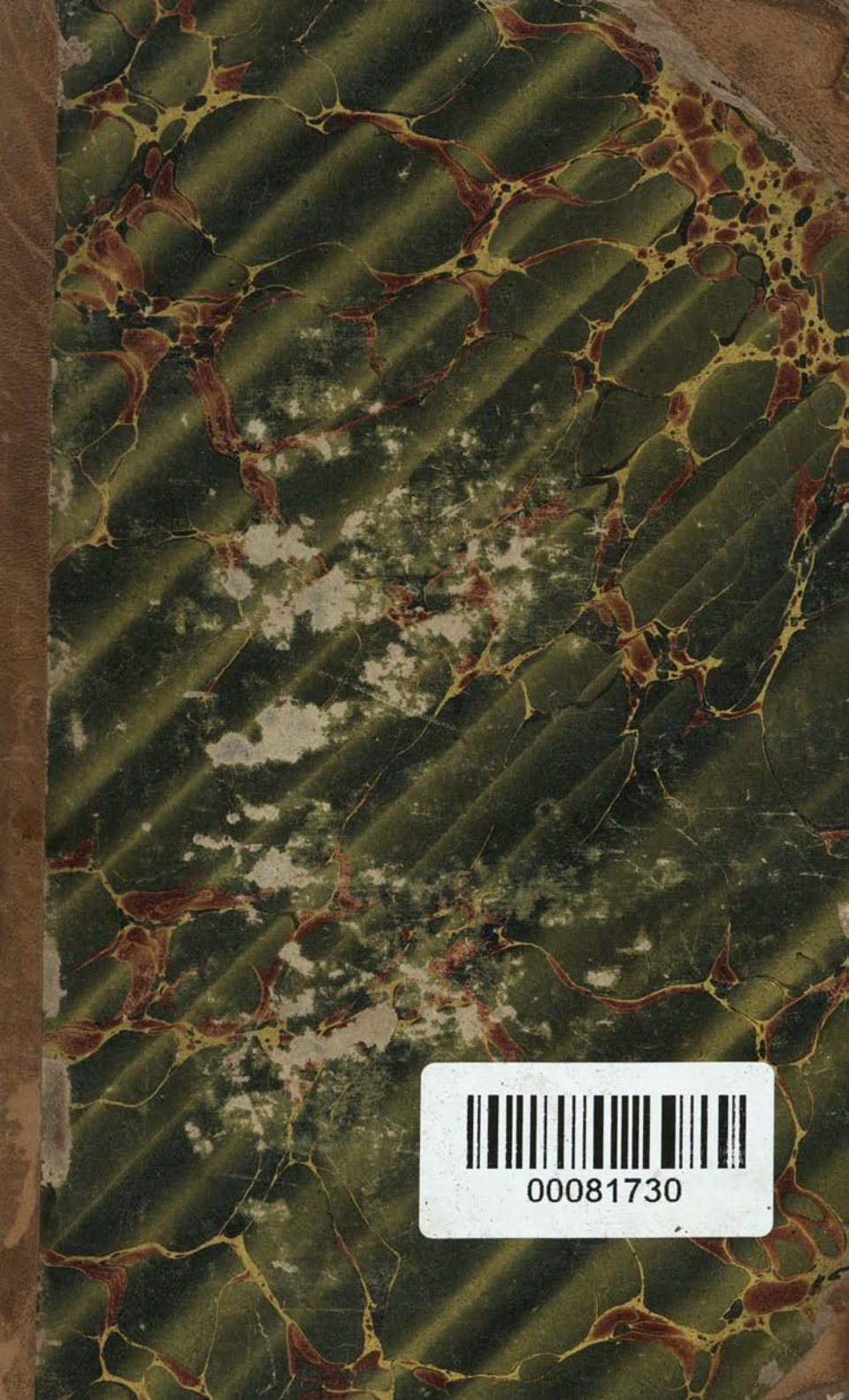
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ARTS and SCIENCES

OF THE

ANTIENTS,

Under the following HEADS:

THE ART MILITARY, GRAMMAR and GRAMMARIANS, PHILOLOGY and PHILOLOGERS, RHETORICIANS, SOPHISTS, POETRY and POETS.

81730

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANTIENTS, &c.

OF THE ART MILITARY.

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE V.

Of battles.

IT is time to make our troops march out of their camp, whether Greeks or Romans, and to bring them into the field againſt the enemy.

SECT. I.

The ſucceſs of battles principally depends upon the generals, or commanders in chief.

IT is in this view military merit appears in all its extent. To know whether a general were worthy of that name, the antients examined the conduct he had obſerved in a battle. They did

not expect ſucceſs from the number of troops, which is often a diſadvantage, but from his prudence and valour, the cauſe and aſſurance of victory. They conſidered him as the ſoul of his army, that directs all its motions, whoſe dictates every thing obeys, and whoſe good or bad conduct generally determines the obtaining or loſing a battle. The affairs of the Carthaginians were abſolutely deſperate, when Xanthippus the Lacedæmonian arrived. Upon the account they gave him of what had paſſed in the battle, he attributed the ill ſucceſs of it ſolely to the incapacity of their generals, and fully proved the truth of his opinion. He had brought with him neither infantry nor cavalry, but knew how to uſe both. Every thing had ſoon a new aſpect, and demonſtrated that one good head is of more value than an hundred thouſand arms. The three defeats of the Romans by Hannibal taught them the effects of a bad choice. The war with Perſeus had continued three years entire, through the ill conduct of three conſuls, that had been charged with it: Paulus Emilius terminated it gloriouſly in leſs than one. It is, on theſe occaſions, the difference between man and man is moſt evident.

The firſt care of a general, and that which demands great force of judgment and equal prudence, is to examine whether it be proper or no to come to a battle: for both may be equally dangerous. Mardonius periſhed miſerably with his army of three hundred thouſand men, for not having followed the advice of Artabazus, which was not to give battle, and rather to uſe gold and ſilver againſt the Greeks than iron. It was contrary to the opinion of the wiſe Memnon, that Darius's generals fought the battle of the Granicus, which gave the firſt blow to the empire of the Perſians. The blind temerity of Varro, notwithſtanding

ſtanding his collegue's remonſtrances, and the advice of Fabius, drew upon the republic the unfortunate battle of Cannæ; whereas a delay of a few weeks would probably have ruined Hannibal for ever. Perſeus, on the contrary, let ſlip the occaſion of fighting the Romans, in not having taken the advantage of the ardour of his army; and attacked them inſtantly after the defeat of their horſe, which had thrown their troops into diſorder and conſternation. Cæſar had been loſt after the battle of Dyrrachium, if Pompey had known how to improve his advantage. Great enterpriſes have their deciſive moments. The important lies in wiſely reſolving what to chuſe, and in ſeizing the preſent occaſion, that never returns * when once neglected: and in this the whole depends upon the general's prudence. † There is a diſtribution of cares and duties in an army. The head decrees, the arms execute. ‡ *Think only*, ſays Otho to his ſoldiers, *of your arms, and of fighting with bravery; and leave the care of taking good meaſures, and directing your valour aright, to me.*

* Si in occaſionis momento, cujus prætervolat opportunitas, cunctatus paulum fueris, nequicquam mox amiſſam quæras. *Liv.* l. 25. n. 38.

† Diviſa inter exercitum duceſque munia. Militibus cupido pugnandi convenit: duces providendo, conſultando, proſunt. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. 3. c. 20.

‡ Vobis arma & animus ſit, mihi conſilium & virtutis veſtræ regimen relinquite. *Ib.* l. 1. c. 84.

SECT. V.

Care to conſult the gods and harangue the troops before a battle.

THE moment before a battle, the antients believed themſelves the moſt obliged to conſult the gods, and to incline them in their favour. They conſulted them either by the flight or ſinging of birds, by the inſpection of the entrails of victims, by the manner in which the ſacred chickens pecked their corn, and by things of the like nature. They laboured to render them propitious by ſacrifices, vows, and prayers. Many of the generals, eſpecially in the earlier times, diſcharged theſe duties with great ſolemnity and ſentiments of religion, which they ſometimes carried to a puerile and ridiculous ſuperſtition: others either deſpiſed them in their hearts, or openly made a jeſt of them; and people did not fail to aſcribe the misfortunes, which their ignorance or temerity drew upon them, to that irreligious contempt. Never did a prince expreſs more reverence for the gods than Cyrus the Great. When he was marching to charge Crœſus, he ſung the hymn of battle aloud, to which the whole army replied with great cries, invoking the god of war. Paulus Emilius, before he gave Perſeus battle, ſacrificed twenty oxen ſucceſſively to Hercules, without finding any favourable ſign in all thoſe victims: it was not till the one and twentieth that he believed he ſaw ſomething which promiſed him the victory. There are alſo examples of a different kind. Epaminondas, no leſs brave, though not ſo ſuperſtitious as Paulus Emilius, finding himſelf oppoſed in giving battle at Leuctra, upon account of bad omens, replied by a verſe of Homer's, of which the ſenſe is

The

The only good omen is to fight for one's country. A Roman conſul, who was fully determined to fight the enemy as ſoon as he came up with them, kept himſelf cloſe ſhut up within his litter, during his march, to prevent any bad omen from fruſtrating his deſign. Another did more: Seeing that the chickens would not eat, he threw them into the ſea, ſaying, *If they won't eat, let them drink.* Such examples of irreligion were uncommon, and the contrary opinion prevailed. There was, without doubt, ſuperſtition in many of theſe ceremonies: but the ſacrifices, vows, and prayers, which always preceded battles, were proofs, that they expected ſucceſs from the divinity, who alone diſpoſed of it.

After having paid theſe duties to the gods, they applied themſelves to men, and the general exhorted his ſoldiers. It was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom with all nations to harangue their troops before a battle; which cuſtom was very reaſonable, and might contribute very much to the victory. It is certainly right, when an army is upon the point of marching againſt the enemy, in order to engage, to oppoſe the fear of a ſeemingly approaching death with the moſt powerful reaſons, and ſuch as, if not capable of totally extinguiſhing that fear ſo deeply implanted in our nature, may at leaſt combat and overcome it: Such reaſons, as the love of our country, the obligation to defend it at the price of our blood, the remembrance of paſt victories, the neceſſity of ſupporting the glory of our nation, the injuſtice of a violent and cruel enemy, the dangers to which the fathers, mothers, wives, and children of the ſoldiers are expoſed: Theſe motives, I ſay, and many of the like nature, repreſented from the mouth of a general beloved and reſpected by his troops, may make a very ſtrong impreſſion upon their minds. Military elo-

quence conſiſts leſs in words, than in a certain eaſy and engaging air of authority, that at once adviſes and commands; and ſtill more in the ineſtimable advantage of being beloved by the troops*, which might ſupply its place if wanted.

Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. 3. p. 84.

It is not, as Cyrus obſerves, that ſuch diſcourſes can in an inſtant change the diſpoſition of ſoldiers, and from timorous and abject, as they might be, make them immediately bold and intrepid; but they awaken, they rouſe, the courage nature has before given them, and add a new force and vivacity to it.

To judge rightly of the cuſtom of haranguing the troops, as generally and conſtantly practiſed by the antients, we muſt go back to the ages wherein they lived, and conſider their manners and cuſtoms with particular attention.

The armies of the Greeks and Romans were compoſed of the ſame citizens, to whom, in the city and in time of peace, it was cuſtomary to communicate all the affairs of the ſtate. The general did no more in the camp, or in the field of battle, than he would have been obliged to do in the *Roſtrum*, or tribunal of harangues. He did his troops honour, and attracted their confidence and affection, in imparting to them his deſigns, motives, and meaſures. By that means he intereſted the ſoldier in the ſucceſs. The ſight only of the generals, officers, and ſoldiers aſſembled, communicated a reciprocal courage and ardour in them all. Every one piqued himſelf at that time upon the goodneſs of his aſpect and appearance, and obliged his neighbour to do the ſame. The fear of ſome was abated, or entirely baniſhed, by the valour of others. The diſpoſition of particular perſons be-

* Caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis. *Tacit. in Agricol.* c. 16.

came

came that of the whole body, and gave affairs their aſpect.

There were occaſions when it was moſt neceſſary to excite the good-will and zeal of the ſoldier: for inſtance, when a difficult and haſty march was to be made, to extricate the army out of a dangerous ſituation, or to obtain one more commodious: when courage, patience, and conſtancy were neceſſary for ſupporting famine and other violent diſtreſſes, conditions painful to nature: when ſome difficult, dangerous, but very important enterpriſe was to be undertaken: when it was neceſſary to conſole, encourage, and re-animate the troops after a defeat: when an hazardous retreat was to be made in view of the enemy, in a country he was maſter of: and laſtly, when only a generous effort was wanting to terminate a war, or ſome important enterpriſe.

Upon theſe and the like occaſions, the generals never failed to ſpeak in public to the army, in order to ſound their diſpoſition by their acclamations, more or leſs ſtrong, to inform them of their reaſons for ſuch and ſuch conduct, and to conciliate them to it; to diſpel the falſe reports which exaggerated difficulties, and diſcouraged them; to let them ſee the remedies preparing for the diſtreſſes they were under, and the ſucceſs to be expected from them; to explain the precautions it was neceſſary to take, and the motives for taking them. It was the general's intereſt to flatter the ſoldier in making him the confident of his deſigns, fears, and expedients, in order to engage him to ſhare in them, and act in concert and from the ſame motives with himſelf. The general in the midſt of ſoldiers, who, as well as himſelf, were all not only members of the ſtate, but had a ſhare in the authority of the government, conſidered him as a father in the midſt of his family.

It may not be eaſy to conceive how he could make himſelf heard by the troops, but that difficulty will vaniſh if we remember, that the armies of the Greeks and Romans were not very numerous. Thoſe of the former ſeldom exceeded ten or twelve thouſand men, and of the latter very rarely twice that number: I do not ſpeak of later times. The generals were heard, as the orators were in the public aſſemblies, or from the tribunal for harangues. All people did not hear: but however the whole people were informed at Rome and Athens; the whole people deliberated and decided, and none of them complained of not having heard. It ſufficed, that the moſt antient, the moſt conſiderable, the principals of companies and quarters were preſent at the harangue, of which they afterwards gave an account to the reſt.

On the column of Trajan, the emperor is ſeen haranguing the troops from a tribunal of turf raiſed higher than the ſoldiers heads, with the principal officers round him upon the platform, and the multitude forming a circle at a diſtance. One would not believe in how little room a great number of unarmed men will ſtand upright, when they preſs cloſe to each other; and theſe harangues were uſually made in the camp to the ſoldiers quiet and unarmed. Beſides which, they accuſtomed themſelves from their youth to ſpeak upon occaſion with a ſtrong and diſtinct voice.

When the armies were more numerous, and upon the point of giving battle, they had a very ſimple and natural manner of haranguing the troops. The general on horſeback rode through the ranks, and ſpoke ſomething to the ſeveral bodies of troops in order to animate them. * Alexander did ſo at the

* Alexander ante prima ſigna ibat.—Cumque agmen obequitaret, varia oratione, ut cujuſque animis aptum erat, milites alloquebatur. *Curt.* l. 3. c. 10.

battle

battle of Iſſus, and Darius almoſt the ſame at that of * Arbela, though in a different manner. He harangued his troops from his chariot, directing his looks and geſture to the officers and ſoldiers that ſurrounded him. Without doubt, neither the one nor the other could be heard by any but thoſe who were neareſt them: but theſe ſoon transferred the ſubſtance of their diſcourſes to the reſt of the army.

Juſtin, who abridged Trogus Pompeius, an excellent hiſtorian that lived in the time of Auguſtus, repeats an entire harangue, which his author had put into the mouth of Mithridates. It is very long, which ought not to ſeem ſurpriſing, becauſe Mithridates does not make it juſt before a battle, but only to animate his troops againſt the Romans, whom he had before overthrown in ſeveral battles, and intended to attack again. His army conſiſted of almoſt three hundred thouſand men of two and twenty different nations, who had each their peculiar language, all which Mithridates could ſpeak, and therefore had no occaſion for interpreters to explain his diſcourſe to them. Juſtin, where he repeats the ſpeech in queſtion, barely ſays, that Mithridates called an aſſembly of his ſoldiers: *Ad concionem milites vocat.* But what did he do to make two and twenty nations underſtand him? Did he repeat to each of them the whole diſcourſe quoted by Juſtin? That is improbable. It were to be wiſhed, that the hiſtorian had explained himſelf more clearly, and given us ſome light upon this head. Perhaps he contented himſelf with ſpeaking to his own nation, and making known his views and deſigns to the reſt by interpreters. Juſt. l. 38. c. 4—7.

* Darius, ſicut curru eminebat, dextra lævaque ad circumſtantium agmina oculos manuſque circumferens, &c. *Curt.* l. 4. c. 14.

Han-

Liv. l. 30. n. 33. Hannibal acted in this manner. When he was going to give Scipio battle in Africa, he thought it incumbent on him to exhort his troops: and, as every thing was different amongſt them, language, cuſtoms, laws, arms, habits, and intereſts, ſo he made uſe of different motives to animate them.

" To the auxiliary troops he propoſed an im-
" mediate reward, and an augmentation of their
" pay out of the booty that ſhould be taken. He
" inflamed the peculiar and natural hatred of the
" Gauls againſt the Romans: As for the Ligu-
" rians, who inhabited a mountainous and barren
" country, he ſet before them the fertile vallies of
" Italy, as the fruit of their victory. He repre-
" ſented to the Moors and Numidians the cruel
" and violent government of Maſſiniſſa, to which
" they would be ſubjected, if overcome. In this
" manner he animated theſe different nations, by
" the different views of hope and fear. * As to the
" Carthaginians, he omitted nothing that might
" excite their valour, and addreſſed himſelf to
" them in the warmeſt and moſt pathetic terms:
" the danger of their country, their houſhold gods,
" the tombs of their anceſtors, the terror and con-
" ſternation of their fathers and mothers, their
" wives and children; in fine, the fate of Car-
" thage, which the event of that battle would either
" ruin and reduce into perpetual ſlavery, or render
" miſtreſs of the univerſe; every thing being ex-
" treme which ſhe had either to hope or fear."
This is a very fine diſcourſe. But how did he make theſe different nations underſtand it? Livy informs us: He ſpoke to the Carthaginians himſelf, and ordered the commanders of each nation to repeat to them what he had ſaid.

* Carthaginienſibus mœnia patriæ, dii penates, ſepulcra majorum, liberi cum parentibus, conjugeſque pavidæ, aut excidium ſervitiumque, aut imperium orbis terrarum; nihil aut in metum aut in ſpem medium oſtentatur.

In

In this manner, the general ſometimes aſſembled the officers of his army, and, after having explained what he deſired the troops might be told, he ſent them back to their ſeveral brigades or companies, in order to report what they had heard, and animate them for the battle. Arrian obſerves this in particular of Alexander the Great before the famous battle of Arbela. Arrian. l. 3. p. 117.

SECT. III.

Manner of imbattling armies, and of engaging.

THE manner of drawing up armies in battle, was not always alike with the antients, and could not be ſo, becauſe it depends on circumſtances that vary perpetually, and conſequently require different diſpoſitions. The infantry were generally poſted in the centre, in one or more lines, and the horſe upon the wings.

At the battle of Thymbræa, all the troops of Crœſus, as well horſe as foot, were drawn up in one line thirty men deep, except the Egyptians, who amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand men. They were divided into twelve large bodies or ſquare battalions, of ten thouſand men each, an hundred in front, and as many in depth. Crœſus with all his endeavours could not make them change this order, to which they were accuſtomed: this rendered the greateſt part of thoſe troops uſeleſs, who were the beſt in the army, and did not a little contribute to the loſs of the battle. The Perſians generally fought fourſcore deep. Cyrus, to whom it was of great importance to extend his front as far as poſſible, in order to prevent being ſurrounded by the enemy, reduced his files to twelve deep only. The reader knows the event of this battle. Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. 6. p. 158, &c.

In

Xenoph. hiſt. l. 6. p. 596, &c.

In the battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians who had, of their own troops and their allies, four and twenty thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, were drawn up twelve deep; and the Thebans fifty, though not above ſix thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe. This ſeems contrary to rules. The deſign of Epaminondas was to fall directly with the whole weight of his heavy battalion upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, well aſſured, that, if he could break that, the reſt of the army would be ſoon put to the rout: And the effect anſwered the deſign.

Vol. VI. p. 29, &c. Polyb. l. 17. p. 764, 767. Id. l. 12. p. 664.

I have deſcribed elſewhere the Macedonian phalanx, ſo famous amongſt the antients. It was generally divided, according to Polybius, into ten battalions, each conſiſting of ſixteen hundred men, an hundred in front, and ſixteen deep. Sometimes the latter number was doubled, or reduced to eight, according to the exigency of the occaſion. The ſame Polybius make a ſquadron conſiſt of eight hundred horſe, generally drawn up an hundred in front and eight in depth: he ſpeaks of the Perſian cavalry.

As to the Romans, their cuſtom of drawing up their infantry in three lines continued long, and with uniformity enough. Amongſt other examples, that of the battle of Zama between Scipio and Hannibal may ſuffice to give us a juſt idea of the manner in which the Romans and Carthaginians imbattled their troops.

Scipio placed the *Haſtati* (or pikes) in the front line, leaving ſpaces between the cohorts. In the ſecond he poſted the *Principes*, with their cohorts not fronting the ſpaces of the firſt line, as was uſual with the Romans, but behind the cohorts of the *Haſtati*, leaving ſpaces directly oppoſite to thoſe of the front line; and this becauſe of the great number of elephants in the enemy's army, to which Scipio thought proper to leave a free paſſage. The

Triarii

Triarii compoſed the third line, and were a kind of corps de reſerve. The cavalry were diſtributed upon the two wings; that of Italy upon the left commanded by Lælius, and the Numidians upon the right under Maſſiniſſa. Into the ſpaces of the firſt line he threw the light-arm'd troops, with orders to begin the battle; in ſuch a manner, however, that in caſe they were repulſed, or not able to ſupport the charge of the elephants, they ſhould retire, thoſe who ran beſt, behind the whole army through the direct intervals; and thoſe who ſhould find themſelves ſurrounded, through ſuch openings as might be on the right or left.

As to the other army, more than fourſcore elephants covered it in front. Behind them Hannibal poſted the foreign mercenaries, to the number of about twelve thouſand Ligurians, Gauls, Balearians, and Moors: behind this firſt line, were the Africans and Carthaginians. Theſe were the flower of his army, with which he intended to fall upon the enemy, when fatigued and weakened by the battle: and in the third line, which he removed to the diſtance of more than an hundred paces from the ſecond, were the troops he had brought with him from Italy, on whom he could not rely, becauſe they had been forced from their country, and he did not know whether he ought to conſider them as allies or enemies. On the left wing he placed the cavalry of the Numidian allies, and on the right that of the Carthaginians. *More than a ſtadium.*

I could wiſh that Polybius or Livy had informed us what number of troops there were on each ſide, and what depth the generals had given them in drawing them up. In the battle of Cannæ ſome years before this, there is no mention of the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, that generally compoſed the three lines of the Roman armies. Livy, without doubt, ſuppoſes it a cuſtom known to all the world.

It

It was uſual enough, eſpecially with ſome nations, to raiſe great cries, and to ſtrike their ſwords againſt their bucklers, as they advanced to charge an enemy. This noiſe, joined to that of the trumpets, was very proper to ſuppreſs in them, by a kind of ſtupefaction, all fear of danger, and to inſpire them with a courage and boldneſs, that had no view but victory, and defied death.

The troops ſometimes marched ſoftly and cooly to the charge: and ſometimes, when they approached the enemy, they ſprung forwards with impetuoſity as faſt as they could move. Great men have been divided in opinion upon theſe different methods of attacking. On the day of the battle of Thermopylæ, Xerxes's ſpy found the Spartans preparing to engage only by combing their hair. Never was danger however greater. This bravado ſuited only ſoldiers determined like them to conquer or die: beſides which, it was their uſual cuſtom.

Her. l. 7. c. 208.

The light-armed troops generally began the action by a flight of darts, arrows, and ſtones, either againſt the elephants, if there were any, or againſt the horſe or infantry, to put them into diſorder; after which they retired through the ſpaces behind the firſt line, from whence they continued their diſcharges over the ſoldiers heads.

The Romans began a battle by throwing their javelins againſt the enemy, after which they came to blows with them; and it was then their valour was ſhewn, and great ſlaughter enſued.

When they had broken the enemy and put them to flight, the great danger was, as it ſtill is, to purſue them with too much ardour, without regard to what paſſed in the reſt of the army. We have ſeen that the loſs of moſt battles proceeds from this fault, the more to be feared, as it ſeems the effect

of

of valour and bravery. Lælius and Maſſiniſſa, in the battle of Zama, after having broken the enemy and put them to flight, did not abandon themſelves to ſo imprudent an ardour; but, returning immediately from the purſuit, rejoined the main body, and falling upon Hannibal's rear, put the greateſt part of his phalanx to the ſword.

Lycurgus had decreed, that, after having purſued the enemy enough to ſecure the victory, the purſuit ſhould ceaſe; and that for two reaſons: The firſt, becauſe as the war was made between Greeks and Greeks, humanity required, that they ſhould not act with the greateſt extremity againſt neighbouring people, in ſome ſort their countrymen, who profeſſed themſelves vanquiſhed by their flight. And the ſecond, becauſe the enemy, relying upon this cuſtom, would be inclined to preſerve their lives by retreating, rather than perſiſt obſtinately in a battle, during which they knew they had no quarter to expect.

The attack of an army by the flanks and rear muſt be very advantageous, as in moſt battles it is generally attended with victory. Hence we ſee in all battles, that the principal care of the moſt able generals is to provide againſt this danger.

It is ſurpriſing, that the Romans had ſo few cavalry in their armies; three hundred horſe to four or five thouſand foot. It is true, they made an excellent uſe of thoſe they had. Sometimes they diſmounted and fought on foot, their horſes being trained to ſtand ſtill in the mean while. Sometimes they carried light-armed ſoldiers behind them, who got off and remounted with wonderful agility. Sometimes the horſe charged the enemy on the full gallop, who could not ſupport ſo violent an attack. But however all this amounted to no great ſervice; and we have ſeen Hannibal indebted for

Liv. l. 3. n. 62. Id. l. 26. n. 4. Id. l. 8. n. 30.

his

his ſuperiority in his four firſt battles chiefly to his cavalry.

The Romans had made war at firſt upon their neighbours, whoſe country was woody, full of vineyards and olive-trees, and ſituate near the Appennine mountains, where the horſe had little room to act or draw up. The neighbouring people had the ſame reaſon for not keeping much cavalry; and hence it became the cuſtom on both ſides to have little. The Roman legion was eſtabliſhed to the number of three hundred horſe, the allies furniſhing twice that number; which cuſtom in ſucceeding times had the force of a law.

The army of the Perſians had no cavalry, when Cyrus firſt had the command of it. He ſoon perceived the want of it, and in a very ſhort time raiſed a great body of horſe, to which he was principally indebted for his conqueſt. The Romans were obliged to do the ſame, when they turned their arms againſt the Eaſt, and had to deal with nations, whoſe principal force conſiſted in cavalry. Hannibal had taught them what uſe they were to make of it.

I do not find any mention made of hoſpitals for the ſick and wounded in the armies of the antients. No doubt they took care of them. Homer ſpeaks of ſeveral illuſtrious phyſicians in the army of the Greeks at the ſiege of Troy; and we know that they acted as ſurgeons. Cyrus the younger, in the army with which he marched to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, did not omit to carry with him a conſiderable number of able phyſicians. Cæſar tells us, in more than one paſſage of his Commentaries, that, after a battle, the wounded were carried into the neareſt neighbouring city. There are many inſtances of generals going to viſit the wounded in their tents: which is a proof, that in quarters, where ſeven or eight comrades, citizens of the ſame

Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 1. p. 29.

diſtrict

diſtrict of the ſame city, lay, the ſoldiers took care of one another, when wounded.

Livy often mentions the *Cartel*, or agreement between nations at war for the ranſom of priſoners. After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, having made himſelf maſter of the ſmall camp of the Romans, agreed to reſtore each Roman citizen for three hundred pieces of money called *quadrigati*, which were *denarii*; that is, for about ſeven pounds, or an hundred and fifty livres; the allies for two hundred; and the ſlaves for one. The Romans, when they took Eretria, a city of Euboœa, where the Macedonians had a garriſon, fixed the price of their ranſom at three hundred pieces of money alſo, that is to ſay, at ſeven pounds, or an hundred and fifty livres. Hannibal, ſeeing the Romans were determined not to ranſom their priſoners who had ſurrendered themſelves to him, ſold them to different nations. The Achæans bought a conſiderable number of them. When the Romans had reeſtabliſhed the liberty of Greece, the Achæans, out of gratitude, ſent home all theſe priſoners, and paid their maſters five denarii per head, that is to ſay, two hundred and fifty livres; the total of which, according to Polybius, amounted to an hundred talents, or an hundred thouſand crowns: for, in Achaia, there were twelve hundred of thoſe priſoners.

Liv. l. 22. n. 52.

Id. l. 32. n. 17.

Id. l. 34. n. 49.

I do not believe, that the uſe of writing in cyphers was known to the antients. It is however very neceſſary for conveying ſecret advices to officers, either remote from the army, or ſhut up in a city, or on other important occaſions. Whilſt Q. Cicero was beſieged in his camp by the Gauls, Cæſar wrote him advice, that he was marching to his relief with ſeveral legions, and ſhould ſoon arrive. The letter * was written in Greek, that, if it

Cæſ. Bell. Gall. l. 5.

* Epiſtolam Græcis conſcriptam literis mittit, ne, intercepta epiſtola, noſtra ab hoſtibus conſilia cognoſcerentur.

fell into the enemy's hands, they might not know that Cæſar advanced. That precaution does not ſeem ſufficiently certain; nor are ſignals, which I have treated of elſewhere, much more ſo: beſides which, the uſe of them was very difficult, and at the ſame time perplexing and full of obſcurity.

Plut. in Cornel. p. 217. I ſhall relate a common and very remarkable cuſtom amongſt the Romans: That was, when they were drawn up in line of battle, and ready to take their ſhields, and gird their robes cloſe to their bodies, to make their wills without writing, by only appointing their heir before three or four witneſſes. This was terminated *teſtamenta in procinctu facere*.

After the little I have ſaid upon battles, not daring to engage myſelf farther in a ſubject ſo much out of my ſphere, I proceed to the rewards and puniſhments conſequential of good or bad ſucceſs in battle.

SECT. IV.

Puniſhments. Rewards. Trophies. Triumphs.

SOLON had reaſon to ſay, that the two great ſprings of human actions, and what principally ſet mankind in motion, are hope and fear; and that a good government cannot ſubſiſt without rewards and puniſhments; becauſe impunity imboldens guilt; and virtue, when neglected and undiſtinguiſhed, frequently becomes languid and declines. This maxim is ſtill true, eſpecially with regard to military government, which, as it gives greater ſcope to licence, requires alſo, that order and diſcipline ſhould be annexed to it by ties of a ſtronger and more vigorous nature.

It

It is true, this rule may be abuſed and carried too far, particularly in point of puniſhment. With the Carthaginians, the generals, who had been unfortunate in war, were generally puniſhed with death; as if want of ſucceſs were a crime, and the moſt excellent captain might not loſe a battle without any fault on his ſide. They carried their rigour much farther. * For they condemned him to death who had taken bad meaſures, though ſucceſsful. Amongſt the † Gauls, when troops were to be raiſed, all the young men capable of bearing arms were obliged to be preſent at the aſſembly on a certain day. He who came laſt was condemned to die, and executed with the moſt cruel torments. What an horrid barbarity was this!

The Greeks, though very ſevere in ſupporting military diſcipline, were more humane. At Athens, the refuſal to bear arms, which is far more criminal than a delay of a few hours or moments, was only puniſhed by a public interdiction, or a kind of excommunication, which excluded the perſon from entering the aſſemblies of the people, and the temples of the gods. But to throw away his ſhield in order to fly, to quit his poſt, or be a deſerter, were capital crimes, and puniſhed with death. Æſchin. in Ctesiph. p. 457.

At Sparta it was an inviolable law never to fly, however ſuperior the enemy's army might be in number; never to abandon a poſt, nor ſurrender their arms. Thoſe who had failed in theſe points, were declared infamous for ever. They were not only excluded from all offices, employments, aſſemblies, and public ſhews; but it was ſcandalous to ally with them in marriage, and a thouſand inſults Her. l. 7. c. 104.

* Apud Carthaginienſes in cruem tolli imperatores dicuntur, ſi proſpero eventu, pravo conſilio, rem geſſerunt. *Liv.* l. 38. n. 48.

† Hoc more Gallorum eſt initium belli, quo lege communi omnes puberes armati convenire coguntur; & qui ex eis noviſſimus venit, in conſpectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus affectus necatur. *Cæſ. de Bell. Gal.* 5.

were offered them in public with impunity. On the contrary, great honours were paid to ſuch as had behaved themſelves valiantly in battle, or had died ſword in hand in the defence of their country.

Greece abounded with ſtatues of the great men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battles. Their tombs were adorned with magnificent inſcriptions, which perpetuated their names and memories. The cuſtom of the Athenians in this point was of wonderful efficacy to animate the courage of the citizens, and inſpire them with ſentiments of honour and glory. After a battle, the laſt duties were publicly rendered to thoſe who had been ſlain. The bones of the dead were expoſed for three days ſucceſſively to the veneration of the people, who thronged to throw flowers upon them, and to burn incenſe and perfumes before them. After which, thoſe bones were carried in pomp, in as many coffins as there were tribes in Athens, to the place particularly allotted for their interment. The whole people attended this religious ceremony. The proceſſion had ſomething very auguſt and majeſtic in it, and rather reſembled a glorious triumph, than a funeral ſolemnity.

Thucyd. l. 2. p. 121.

Some days after, which far exceeds what I have juſt ſaid, one of the beſt qualified Athenians pronounced the funeral oration of thoſe illuſtrious dead before the whole people. The great Pericles was charged with this commiſſion after the firſt campaign of the Peloponneſian war. Thucydides has preſerved his diſcourſe, and there is another upon the ſame ſubject in Plato. The intent of this funeral oration was to extol the courage of thoſe generous ſoldiers who had ſhed their blood for their country; to inculcate the imitation of their example to the citizens, and eſpecially to conſole their families. Theſe were exhorted to moderate their

grief.

grief by reflecting on the glory their relations had acquired for ever. "You have never, ſays the "orator to the fathers and mothers, prayed to the "gods, that your children ſhould be exempt from "the common law, which dooms all mankind to "die; but only that they ſhould prove perſons of "virtue and honour. Your vows are heard, and the "glory with which you ſee them crowned, ought "to dry your eyes, and change your lamenta-"tions into thankſgiving." The orators often, by a figure common enough with them, eſpecially upon great occaſions, put theſe lively exhortations into the mouths of the dead themſelves, who ſeemed to quit their tombs to chear and conſole their fathers and mothers.

They did not confine themſelves to bare diſcourſe and barren praiſes. The republic, as a tender and compaſſionate mother, took upon herſelf the charge of maintaining and ſubſiſting the old men, widows, and orphans, who ſtood in need of her ſupport. The latter were brought up ſuitably to their condition, till they were of age to carry arms: and then publicly, in the theatre, and in the preſence of the whole people, they were dreſſed in a complete ſuit of armour, which was given them, and declared ſoldiers of the republic. Æſchin. contra Ctefiph. p. 452, 453.

Was there any thing wanting to the funeral pomp I now ſpeak of, and did it not ſeem in ſome meaſure to transform the poor ſoldiers and common burghers of Athens into heroes and conquerors? Have the honours, rendered amongſt us to the moſt illuſtrious generals, any thing more animating and affecting? It was by theſe means that courage, greatneſs of ſoul, ardour for glory, and that zeal and devotion for their country, which rendered the Greeks inſenſible to the greateſt dangers and death itſelf, were perpetuated amongſt them. For, as

Thucydides * obſerves upon occaſion of theſe funeral honours, *Great men are formed, where merit is beſt rewarded.*

The Romans were neither leſs exact in puniſhing offences againſt military diſcipline, nor leſs attentive in rewarding merit.

The puniſhment was proportioned to the crime, and did not always extend to death. Sometimes a word of contempt ſufficed for the puniſhment of the troops: at others, the general puniſhed them by refuſing them their ſhare in the ſpoils. Sometimes they were diſmiſſed, and not permitted to ſerve againſt the enemy. It was common enough to make them work in the intrenchments of the camp in a ſingle tunic and without a belt. Ignominy was often more affecting than death itſelf.

Dion. Caſſ. l. 42. p. 210. Cæſar's mutinous troops demanded to be diſmiſſed with ſeditious complaints. † Cæſar ſaid only one word to them, which was *Quirites*, as much as to ſay, citizens, whereas he uſed to call them *Fellow-ſoldiers* or *comrades*; and immediately diſcharged them. That word was like a ſtroke of thunder to them. They believed themſelves degraded and entirely diſhonoured, and never ceaſed importuning him in the moſt humble and pathetic terms, till he conſented, as the greateſt of favours, that they ſhould continue to carry arms for him. This puniſhment, whereby the ſoldiers were broken, was called *exauctoratio*.

Liv. l. 3. n. 29. The Roman army, through the fault of the conſul Minucius, who commanded it, was beſieged in their camp by the Æqui, and very near being taken. Cincinnatus, appointed dictator for this expedition,

* Ἄθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετὴς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ [illegible] πολιτεύεσι.

† Divus Julius ſeditionem exercitus verbo uno compeſcuit, *Quirites* vocando qui ſacramentum ejus detrectabant. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 1. c. 42.

marched

marched to his aid, delivered him, and made himſelf maſter of the enemy's camp, which abounded with riches. He puniſhed the conſul's troops by giving them no ſhare of the booty, and obliged Minucius to quit the conſulſhip, and to ſerve in the army as his lieutenant, which he did without complaint or murmur: " * In thoſe times, obſerves the " hiſtorian, people ſubmitted with ſo much com- " plaſency to the perſons in whom they ſaw a ſu- " periority of merit joined with authority, that " this army, more ſenſible of the benefit, than " ignominy they had received, decreed the dictator " a crown of gold of a pound weight, and on " his departure ſaluted him their patron and pre- " ſerver."

After the battle of Cannæ, wherein more than forty thouſand Romans were left upon the ſpot, about ſeven thouſand ſoldiers, who were in the two camps, ſeeing themſelves without reſource or hope, ſurrendered themſelves and their arms to the enemy, and were made priſoners. Ten thouſand, who had fled as well as Varro, eſcaped by different ways, and at length rejoined each other at Canuſium under the conſul. Whatever inſtances theſe priſoners and their relations could make afterwards to obtain their ranſom, and how great ſoever the want of ſoldiers then was at Rome, the ſenate could never reſolve to redeem ſoldiers who had been ſo baſe as to ſurrender themſelves to the enemy, and whom more than forty thouſand men, killed before their eyes, could, not inſpire with the courage to die in the field for their country. The other ten thouſand, who had eſcaped by flight, were baniſhed into Sicily, and their return prohibited as long as the war with the Cartha- Liv. l. 22. n. 50—60. Liv. l. 23. n. 25.

* Adeò tam imperio meliori animus manſuetè obediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominiæ hic exercitus memor & coronam auream dictatori libræ pondo decreverit, & proficiſcentem eum patronum ſalutaverit. *Liv.*

ginians ſhould continue. They demanded with earneſt intreaties to be led on againſt the enemy, and that they might have an opportunity to expiate with their blood the ignominy of their flight. The ſenate remained inflexible, not believing that they could confide the defence of the republic to ſoldiers, who had abandoned their companions in battle. At length, upon the remonſtrances and warm ſollicitations of the proconſul Marcellus, their demand was granted; but upon condition, that they ſhould not ſet foot in Italy as long as the enemy ſhould remain in it. All the knights of the army of Cannæ, baniſhed into Sicily, were alſo ſeverely puniſhed. In the firſt review made by the cenſors after that battle, all the horſes with which the republic furniſhed them, were taken away; which implied their being degraded from the rank of Roman knights; their former years of ſervice were declared void, and that they ſhould be obliged to ſerve ten more, ſupplying themſelves with horſes; that is to ſay, as many years as if they had never ſerved at all: for the knights were not obliged to ſerve more than ten campaigns.

Liv. l. 27. n. 11.

Liv. l. 22. n. 5. l. 24. n. 14—16.

The ſenate, rather than ranſom the priſoners, which would have coſt leſs, choſe to arm eight thouſand ſlaves; to whom they promiſed liberty, if they behaved themſelves valiantly. They had ſerved almoſt two years with great bravery; their liberty however was not yet arrived, and, with whatever ardour they deſired it *, they choſe rather to deſerve than to demand it. An important occaſion aroſe, in which it was pointed out to them as the reward of their valour. They did wonders in the battle, except four thouſand of them, who diſcovered ſome timidity. After the battle, they were all declared free. Their joy was incredible.

* Jam alterum annum libertatem tacitè mereri, quàm poſtulare palam maluerunt. *Liv.*

Gracchus,

Gracchus, under whoſe command they were, told them: *Before I make you all equal by the title of liberty, I would not willingly have made a difference between the valiant and the timorous. It is however but juſt that I ſhould do ſo.* He then made all thoſe, who had not done their duty as well as the reſt, promiſe upon oath, that, as long as they ſerved, as a puniſhment for their fault, they ſhould always ſtand at their meals, except when hindered by ſickneſs: which was accepted and executed with entire ſubmiſſion. This, of all the military puniſhments, was the lighteſt and moſt gentle.

The puniſhments I have hitherto related ſcarce affected any thing beſides the ſoldier's honour: there were others which extended to his life.

One of the latter was called *Fuſtuarium*, * the baſtinado. It was executed thus: The tribune, taking a ſtick, only touched the criminal with it, and, immediately after, all the ſoldiers of the legion fell on him with ſticks and ſtones, ſo that he generally loſt his life in this puniſhment. If any one eſcaped, he was not thereby entirely diſcharged. His return into his own country was eternally prohibited, and not one of his relations durſt open his door to him. They puniſhed a centinel in this manner, who had quitted his poſt; from whence may be judged the exact diſcipline they obſerved in reſpect to the guard by night, on which the ſafety and preſervation of the whole army depended: all thoſe who abandoned their poſts, whether officers or ſoldiers, were treated in the ſame manner. † Velleius Paterculus cites an example of this puniſh- Polyb. l. 6. p. 481.

* Si Antonius conſul, fuſtuarium meruerunt legiones, quæ conſulem reliquerunt. *Cic. Philip.* 3. n. 14.

† [redacted] Domitius cum ex conſulatu obtineret Hiſpaniam, graviſſimi comparandique antiquis exempli antiquis auctor fuit. Quippe primipili centurionem, nomine Vibilium, ob turpem ex acie fugam, fuſte percuſſit. *Paterc.* l. 2. c. 78.

ment,

ment, executed upon one of the principal officers of a legion, for having ſhamefully taken to flight in a battle: this was in the time of Antony and young Octavius. But, what appears more aſtoniſhing, thoſe were condemned to the ſame puniſhment who ſtole in the camp. The reader may remember the oath taken by the ſoldiers upon their entering it.

When a whole legion or cohort were guilty, as it was not poſſible to put all that were criminal to death, they were decimated by lot, and he, whoſe name was drawn the tenth, was executed. In this manner, fear ſeized all, though few were puniſhed. Others were ſentenced to receive barley inſtead of wheat, and to incamp without the intrenchments at the hazard of being attacked by the enemy. Livy has an example of a decimation as early as the infancy of the republic. Craſſus, when he put himſelf at the head of the legions, who had ſuffered themſelves to be defeated by Spartacus, revived the antient cuſtom of the Romans, which had been diſuſed for ſeveral ages, of decimating the ſoldiers when they had failed in their duty; and that puniſhment had a very happy effect. This kind of death, ſays Plutarch, is attended with great ignominy; and, as it was executed before the whole army, it diffuſed terror and horror throughout the camp.

Liv. l. 2. n. 59. Plut. in Craſſ. p. 584.

Decimation became very common under the emperors, eſpecially in regard to the Chriſtians, whoſe refuſal to adore idols, or perſecute believers, was conſidered and puniſhed as a ſacrilegious revolt. The Theban legion was treated in this manner under Maximinian. That emperor cauſed it to be decimated three times ſucceſſively, without being able to overcome the pious reſiſtance of thoſe generous ſoldiers. Mauritius, their commander, in concert with all the other officers, wrote a very

Ex epiſt. S. Eucherii Lugd. ad Sylv. Epiſc.

ſhort

ſhort, but admirable letter to the emperor. **We are your ſoldiers, emperor, but the ſervants of God. We owe you our ſervice, but him our innocency. We cannot renounce God, to obey you; that God, who is our creator and maſter, and your's alſo, whether you will or no.* All the reſt of the legion were put to death, without making the leaſt reſiſtance, and went to join the legions of angels, and to praiſe the God of armies with them for evermore.

Theſe capital puniſhments were not frequent in the time of the republic. †It was a capital crime, as we have ſaid, to quit a poſt, or fight without orders: and the example of fathers, who had not ſpared their own ſons, inſpired a juſt terror, which prevented faults, and occaſioned the rules of military diſcipline to be reſpected. There is in theſe bloody executions a ſeverity ſhocking to nature, and which, however, we could not venture abſolutely to condemn; becauſe, if every great public ‡example has ſomething of injuſtice in it, on the other ſide, whatever of that kind is contrary to the intereſt of particulars, is compenſated by the utility which redounds to the public from it.

A general is ſometimes obliged to treat his ſoldiers with great rigour, in order to put a ſtop, by timely ſeverities, either to a revolt juſt forming, or an open violation of diſcipline. He would at ſuch times be cruel if he acted with gentleneſs, and would reſemble the ſurgeon, who, out of a falſe compaſſion, ſhould chuſe rather to let the whole body periſh, than cut off a mortified member.

* Milites ſumus, imperator, tui, ſed tamen ſervi Dei. Tibi militiam debemus, illi innocentiam. Te qui imperatorem in hoc nequaquam poſſumus, ut auctorem negemus; Deum auctorem noſtrum, Deum [illegible] velis nolis, tuum.

† Præſidio decedere apud Romanos capitale eſſe, & nece liberorum etiam ſuorum eam legem parentes ſanxiſſe. *Liv.* l. 24. n. 37.

‡ Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum, quod contra ſingulos, utilitate publica rependitur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 14. c. 44.

What

What is to be avoided, on theſe occaſions, is to ſeem to act from paſſion or hatred: * for then the remedies, improperly applied, would only aggravate the diſeaſe. This happened in the firſt example of decimation I cited, by which Appius had made himſelf ſo extremely odious to the ſoldiers, that they choſe rather to ſuffer themſelves to be beaten by the enemy, than to conquer with him and for him. He was of an obſtinate diſpoſition, and inflexibly rigid. Papirius, long after, acted much more wiſely in a caſe not unlike this. † His ſoldiers, expreſly to mortify him, retreated in battle, and deprived him of a victory. He perceived, like an able captain, the cauſe of that behaviour, and found it neceſſary to moderate his ſeverity, and ſoften his too imperious humour. He did ſo, and ſucceeded ſo well, that he entirely regained the affection of his troops. A complete victory was the conſequence. Much art and prudence are requiſite in puniſhing with ſucceſs.

Liv. l. 8. n. 36.

Liv. l. 8. n. 36.

It was rather by the views of reward and ſenſe of honour that the Romans engaged their troops to do their duty. After the taking of a town, or gaining a battle, the general uſually gave the booty to the ſoldiers, but with admirable order, as Polybius informs us, in his relation of his taking of Carthage. It is, ſays he, an eſtabliſhed cuſtom amongſt the Romans, upon the ſignal given by the generals, to diſperſe themſelves in order to plunder the city that has been taken: after which every one carries the booty he has gotten to his own legion. When the whole has been ſold by auction, the tribunes divide the money into equal ſhares, which are given not only to thoſe who are

* Intempeſtivis remediis delicta accendebatur. *Liv.*

† Ceſſatum à milite, ac de induſtria, ut obtrectaretur de laudibus ducis, impedita victoria eſt——Senſit peritus dux quæ res victoriæ obſtaret: temperandum ingenium ſuum eſſe, & ſeveritatem miſcendam comitate. *Liv.*

in

in other poſts, but to them who have been left to guard the camp, the ſick, and ſuch as have been detached upon any occaſion. And, to prevent any injuſtice from being committed in this part of the war, the ſoldiers are made to ſwear before they take the field, and the firſt day they aſſemble, that they will not ſecrete any part of the booty, but faithfully bring in whatever they ſhall make. What a love of order, obſervance of diſcipline, and regard for juſtice does this argue, admidſt the tumult of arms, and the very ardour of victory!

Upon the day of triumph, the general made another diſtribution of money in greater or leſs proportions, according to the different times of the republic; but always moderate enough before the civil wars.

Honour was ſometimes annexed to advantage, and the ſoldier was much more ſenſible of the one than the other, and how much more the officers! P. Decius the tribune, with a detachment which he conducted, at the hazard of his life, upon the brink of an eminence, had ſaved the whole army by one of the nobleſt actions mentioned in hiſtory. Upon his return, the conſul, in the preſence of all the troops, beſtowed the higheſt praiſes upon him, and beſides many other military preſents, gave him a crown of gold, and an hundred oxen, to which he added another ox of extraordinary ſize and beauty, with gilt horns. He decreed the ſoldiers, who had accompanied the tribune, a double portion of corn during the whole time they ſhould ſerve, and, for the preſent, two oxen and two complete dreſſes a man. The legions alſo, to expreſs their gratitude, preſented Decius with a crown of turf, which was the ſign of a ſiege raiſed; and his own ſoldiers did the ſame. He ſacrificed the ox with the gilt horns to Mars, and gave the other hundred to his ſoldiers: the legions alſo rewarded each of them with a pound of flour, and a gallon of wine. Liv. l. 7. n. 37.

Cal-

Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3. Calphurnius Piſo, ſirnamed *Frugi*, out of veneration for his virtues and great frugality, having variouſly rewarded moſt of thoſe who had aſſiſted him in terminating the Sicilian war, thought himſelf obliged to reward alſo, but at his own expence, the ſervices of one of his ſons, who had ſignaliſed himſelf the moſt upon that occaſion. He declared publicly, that he had deſerved a crown of gold, and aſſured him, that he would leave him one by his will, of the weight of three pounds: decreeing him that honour as general, and paying the price of the crown as his father: *Ut honorem publicè à duce, pretium privatim à patre acciperet.*

The crown of gold was a preſent ſcarce ever granted but to principal officers. There were ſeveral others for different occaſions. The *Corona Obſidionalis*, of which I have ſpoken before, for having delivered the citizens or troops from a ſiege: it was compoſed of turf, and was the moſt glorious of all. The *Corona Civica*, for having ſaved the life of a citizen: it was of oaken leaves, in remembrance, as is ſaid, that men of old fed upon acorns. The *Mural* crown, for having been the firſt in ſcaling the walls of a place beſieged: it was adorned with a kind of battlements, like thoſe to be ſeen upon the antient walls of towns. The *Corona Navalis*, which was compoſed of ornaments like beaks of ſhips: it was given to the admiral of a fleet, who had gained a victory. Examples of this kind are very rare. Agrippa, who had obtained one, thought it very much for his honour:

Pinnis.

Roſtra.

Virg. Æn. l. 8.

——— Cui belli inſigne ſuperbum,
Tempora navali fulgent roſtrata coronâ.

——— *Who bears war's glorious ſign,*
Beak'd with the naval crown whoſe temples ſhine.

Beſides

Beſides theſe crowns (for there were ſome others) the generals preſented the ſoldiers or officers, who ſignaliſed themſelves in a particular manner, with a ſword, a ſhield, and other arms; and ſometimes alſo with diſtinguiſhing military habits. * We have ſeen an officer rewarded thirty-four times by the generals, and gain ſix civic crowns.

Theſe preſents and crowns were titles of nobility to them, and, upon competitions with rivals for ranks and dignities, often determined the preference in their favour; and they did not fail to adorn themſelves with them upon public ſolemnities. They alſo fixed to the doors of their houſes the ſpoils they had taken from the enemy; nor was any future poſſeſſor permitted to take them down. Upon which Pliny makes a fine reflection, that it is impoſſible to render in terms of ſo much ſpirit as his. "The houſes, ſays he, ſtill triumphed, "though they had changed their maſters. What "could more excite to glory, or be more offenſive "to an unworthy poſſeſſor, than walls which re- "proached him as often as he entered, that they "were honoured ſolely by the trophies of another." *Triumphabant etiam dominis mutatis, domus ipſæ. Et erat hæc ſtimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus tectis quotidie imbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum.*

Liv. l. 10. n. 7. l. 23. l. 38. n. 43.

Plin. l. 35. c. 2.

The praiſes given in the preſence of the whole army made no leſs impreſſion upon their minds, and are what a good general never ſpares on proper occaſions. Agricola †, ſays Tacitus, neither envied nor leſſened any man's glory: Centurion or Præfect, in him they found a faithful witneſs of their exploits, to which he never failed doing the utmoſt juſtice. Cæſar, upon being informed

Cæſ. de Bell. Gall.

* Quater & tricies virtutis cauſa donatus ab imperatoribus ſum: ſex civicas coronas accepi. *Liv.* l. 42. n. 34.

† Nec unquam alias gesta avidus intercepit: ſeu centurio, ſeu præfectus, incorruptum facti teſtem habebat. *Tacit. in vit. Agric.* c. 22.

of

of the valour with which Q. Cicero, the famous orator's brother, had defended his camp againſt the great army of the Gauls, extolled publicly the greatneſs of the action, praiſed the legion in general, and apoſtrophiſed particularly to thoſe of the centurions and tribunes, who, as Cicero had obſerved to him, diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt. Upon another occaſion, Scæva, a centurion, had contributed very much to the defence of a breach of great importance. When his buckler was brought to Cæſar with two hundred and thirty arrow-ſhots through it; ſurpriſed and charmed with his bravery, he immediately made him a preſent of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, (about twelve hundred pounds) and raiſed him directly from the eighth to the firſt rank of the centurions, appointing him Primipilus, a very honourable poſt, as I have obſerved elſewhere, and which had no ſuperior but the tribunes, lieutenant-generals, and commanders in chief.

De Bell. Civ. l. 3.

Nothing was equal to this latter method of rewarding, for inſpiring the troops with valour. By a wiſe eſtabliſhment, there were many degrees of honour and diſtinction in a legion, of which none were granted upon account of birth, or bought for money. Merit was the only means of attaining them, at leaſt it was the moſt ordinary method. Whatever diſtance there was between the private centinel, and the conſular dignity, the door lay open to it: it was a beaten path, and there were many examples of citizens, who, from one degree to another, at length attained that ſupreme dignity. With what ardour muſt ſuch a ſight inſpire the troops! Men are capable of every thing when properly excited by the motives of honour and glory.

It remains for me to ſay ſomething upon trophies and triumphs.

Trophies,

Trophy of the Antients.

Trophies, amongſt the antients, were originally an heap of arms and ſpoils taken from enemies, and erected by the victor in the field of battle, of which, in after-times repreſentations were made in ſtone and braſs. They never failed, immediately after a victory, to raiſe a trophy, which was looked upon as a ſacred thing, becauſe always an offering to ſome divinity: for which reaſon none preſumed to throw it down. Neither, when it fell through age, was it permitted to erect it again; for which Plutarch gives a fine reaſon, that argues great humanity in the ſentiments of the antients. *To reinſtate*, ſays he, *and ſet up again the monuments of antient differences with enemies, which time has conveniently demoliſhed, has ſomething odious in it, ſeems to argue a deſire to perpetuate enmity.* Plut. in Quæſt. Rom. p. 272.

We do not obſerve the ſame humanity in the Roman triumphs, of which I am ſtill to ſpeak. The generals, as well as the officers and ſoldiers, had alſo rewards in view. The title of *Imperator* granted after a victory, and the ſupplications, that is to ſay, the public proceſſions, ſacrifices, and prayers, decreed at Rome for a certain number of days, to thank the gods for the ſucceſs of their arms, agreeably flattered their ambition. But the triumph exceeded every thing. There were two ſorts of it, the leſs and the greater.

The leſs triumph was called *Ovatio*. In that the general was neither ſeated on a chariot, dreſſed in triumphal robes, nor crowned with laurel. He entered the city on foot, or, according to ſome, on horſeback, crowned with myrtle, and followed by his army. This kind of triumph was granted only, either when the war had not been declared, had been with a people little conſiderable, or not attended with any great defeat of the enemy.

A triumph could properly be granted only to a dictator, a conſul, or a prætor, who had com-

manded in chief. The ſenate decreed this honour, after which the affair was deliberated upon in the aſſembly of the people, where it often met with great difficulties. Several however triumphed without the ſenate's concurrence, provided the people had decreed them that honour. But if they could not obtain it from either the one or the other order, they went and triumphed upon the Alban mountain, in the neighbourhood of the city. It is ſaid, that to obtain this honour, it was neceſſary to have killed five thouſand enemies in battle.

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 8.

After the general had diſtributed part of the ſpoils to the ſoldiers, and performed ſome other ceremonies, the proceſſion began, and entered the city through the triumphal port to aſcend to the capitol. At the head of it were the players upon muſical inſtruments, who made the air reſound with their harmony. They were followed by the beaſts that were to be ſacrificed, adorned with fillets and flowers, many of them having their horns gilt. After them came the whole booty, and all the ſpoils, either diſplayed upon carriages, or borne upon the ſhoulders of young men in magnificent habits. The names of the nations conquered were written in great characters, and the cities, that had been taken, repreſented. Sometimes they added to the pomp extraordinary animals, brought from the countries ſubjected, as bears, panthers, lions, and elephants. But what moſt attracted the attention and curioſity of the ſpectators, were the illuſtrious captives, who walked in chains before the victor's chariot; great officers of ſtate, generals of armies, princes, kings with their wives and children. The conſul followed (ſuppoſing the general to be ſo) mounted upon a ſuperb chariot drawn by four horſes, and robed with the auguſt and magnificent habit of triumph, his head incircled with a crown of laurel, holding alſo a branch of

the

ROMAN TRIUMPH.

1. Largess of the Victor who triumphs to the Roman People.
2. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
3. Ministers and Officers of the Pontiffs.
4. The Consuls.
5. The Victors.
6. Persons to Clear the way.
7. Lictors & Magistrates.
8. Trumpets.
10. Pictures of the Cities taken & other conquests.
11. Gold, Silver, & Coppers either in Ingots or Coined.
12. Paintings, Colours, Standards, Gold, Silver, Brass, Ivory, Jewels, Purple Robes, & other rich Spoils.
13. Crowns distributed amongst the Roman Soldiers.
14. Arms of ye Conquer'd Nations.
15. Coined Money.
16. Vessels of Gold & Silver.
17. Trumpets.
18. Victims & Sacrifices.
19. Ministers & Officers of the Pontiffs.
20. Elephants of the Conquered people.
21. Chariots, Rems, Diadems, & Crowns of the Conquered Princes & Generals.
22. Captive Kings & Anti-Tambers & wars.
23. Crowns given to ye General who triumphs by ye Peoples.
24. Lictors crowned wth laurel, under a Triumphal Arch.
25. Persons wth Incense & perfumes.
26. The Mother of ye Conquered Princes.
27. Players on ye Flute & Lyre.
28. The Victor on his Triumphal Chariot.
29. Players upon ye Flute & Lyre.
30. Perfumes &c.
31. Relations of ye Conquered who Triumphs.
32. The Lieutenants, Generals, Tribunes, & other Commanders of the Army.
33. The Army of ye Roman People divided into Legions, Cohorts, Centuries, and Manipules.
34. The Crowd of Citizens.

the ſame tree in his hand; and ſometimes accompanied with his young children ſitting by him. Behind the chariot marched the whole army, the cavalry firſt, then the infantry. All the ſoldiers were crowned with laurel, and thoſe who had received particular crowns, and other marks of honour, did not fail to ſhew them on ſo great a ſolemnity. They emulated each other in celebrating the praiſes of their general, and ſometimes threw in expreſſions, ſufficiently offenſive, of raillery and ſatire againſt him, which ſavoured of the military freedom; but the joy of the ceremony entirely blunted their edge, and abated their bitterneſs.

As ſoon as the conſul turned from the forum towards the capitol, the priſoners were carried to priſon; where they were either immediately put to death, or often kept in confinement for the reſt of their lives. Upon his entrance into the capitol, the victor made this very remarkable prayer to the god: * *Filled with gratitude and joy, I return you thanks, O moſt good and moſt great Jupiter, and you queen Juno, and all the other gods, the guardians and inhabitants of this citadel, that to this day and hour you have vouchſafed by my hands to preſerve and guide the Roman republic happily. Continue always, I implore you, to preſerve, guide, protect, and favour it in all things.* This prayer was followed by ſacrificing the victims, and a magnificent feaſt, given in the capitol, ſometimes by the public, and ſometimes by the perſon himſelf who triumphed. The reader may ſee in Plutarch the long and fine deſcription he gives of the triumph of Paulus Emilius.

It muſt be allowed, that this was a glorious day for a general of an army; and it is not ſurpriſing

* Gratias tibi, Jupiter optume, maxume; tibique Junoni reginæ, & cæteris hujus cuſtodibus habitatoribuſque arcis diis lubens lætusque ago, re Romana in hanc diem & horam, per manus quod voluiſti, ſervata, benè geſtaque. Eandem & ſervate, ut facitis, fovete, protegite, propitiati, ſuppliciter oro. *Ex Roſini Antiq. Rom.*

that all poſſible endeavours ſhould be uſed to deſerve ſo grateful a diſtinction, and ſo ſplendid an honour. Nor had Rome any thing more magnificent and majeſtic than this pompous ceremony. But the ſight of captives, the mournful objects of compaſſion, if thoſe victors had been capable of any, obſcured and effaced all its luſtre. What inhuman pleaſure! What barbarous joy! To ſee princes, kings, princeſſes, queens, tender infants, and feeble old men, dragged before them! We may remember the diſſembled marks of friendſhip, the falſe promiſes, the treacherous careſſes of young Cæſar, called afterwards Auguſtus, in regard to Cleopatra, ſolely with the view of inducing that princeſs to ſuffer herſelf to be carried to Rome, that is to ſay, to adorn his triumph, and gratify him in the cruel ſatisfaction of ſeeing the moſt potent queen in the world proſtrate at his feet, in the moſt depreſſed and forlorn condition it were poſſible to imagine. But ſhe well knew the ſnare. Such a conduct and ſuch ſentiments, in my opinion, diſhonour human nature.

In relating the rewards granted by the Romans to the ſoldiery, I have omitted a very important circumſtance, I mean the eſtabliſhment of colonies. When the Romans firſt carried their arms, and extended their conqueſts out of Italy, they puniſhed the people, who reſiſted them with too much obſtinacy by depriving them of part of their lands, which they granted to ſuch of the Roman citizens as were poor, and eſpecially to the veteran ſoldiers, who had ſerved their full proportion of time in the army. By this means the latter ſaw themſelves ſettled in tranquillity with a comfortable income, ſufficient for the ſupport of their families. They became by degrees the moſt conſiderable perſons in the cities to which they were ſent, and obtained the firſt poſts, and principal dignities in them.

Rome

Rome by theſe ſettlements, which were the reſult of a wiſe and profound policy, beſides rewarding her ſoldiers advantageouſly, kept the conquered nations in ſubjection by their means, formed them to the Roman manners and cuſtoms, and by degrees made them forget their own uſages and diſpoſitions, to embrace thoſe of their victors. France has eſtabliſhed a new kind of military reward, which merits a place here.

SECT. V.

Eſtabliſhment of the royal hoſpital of Invalids at Paris.

WE do not find, either amongſt the Greeks or Romans, or any other people, any public foundations, for the relief of the ſoldiery, whom either long fatigues or wounds had made incapable of ſervice. It was reſerved for Lewis XIV. to ſet other princes that example, which England ſoon began to imitate; and we may ſay, that amongſt an infinite number of great actions which have rendered his reign illuſtrious, nothing equals the glorious foundation of the *Hôtel roial des Invalides*.

There has been lately publiſhed a book upon the royal hoſpital of invalids, which anſwers, in ſome meaſure, the magnificence of that foundation, in the beauty and number of its plates and ornaments. In this book, all that regards the revenues, expences, buildings, diſcipline, and government, temporal and ſpiritual, of that houſe, are circumſtantially explained. We are obliged to perſons, who take pains to preſerve and tranſmit in this manner to poſterity an exact knowledge of facts ſo worthy of remembrance. For my part, my intent is only to give a brief idea of them.

Every thing in this ſtructure denotes the grandeur and magnificence of its auguſt founder. We

are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the ſight of a vaſt and ſuperb edifice, capable of containing almoſt four thouſand perſons, in which art has known how to unite whatever could ſtrike the eye on the outſide, by pomp and ſplendor, with all that can conduce to the uſes and conveniencies of life within.

There, in tranquillity and repoſe, the officers and ſoldiers, whom their wounds or age have made unable to ſerve, and the narrowneſs of their fortunes incapable to ſupport themſelves; there, thoſe brave warriors, freed from all care and diſquiet, are lodged, fed, cloathed, and maintained, as well in ſickneſs as health, in a decent manner, and find a ſafe retreat, and an honourable aſylum provided for them, by the piety and paternal goodneſs of Lewis XIV.

It is natural to conceive, that the expence for the ſupport of ſuch an houſe muſt be immenſe. Two thouſand five hundred quarters of wheat, and about eleven thouſand five hundred hogſheads of wine, are annually conſumed in it. Phyſicians, ſurgeons, apothecaries, and ſervants, abound in this houſe. The infirmaries are ſerved by thirty-five ſiſters, *Filles de la charité*, with ſurpriſing induſtry and cleanlineſs.

But from whence ariſe the funds neceſſary for ſuch a multitude of wants and occaſions? Who could believe it, or can ſufficiently admire the wiſdom that inſtituted ſuch order and œconomy? It is the officer and ſoldier, who contribute with joy, and almoſt inſenſibly, to an eſtabliſhment, in which they hope one day to find tranquillity and repoſe, and a period of all their labours. The fund for all theſe expences ariſes from three deniers (a twelfth part of a French penny) deducted from every livre of the ordinary and extraordinary expences of war. This ſeems a ſmall matter in itſelf, but

but the total amounts to a very conſiderable ſum. During the war, which ended in 1714, in which an hundred millions of livres were yearly expended, theſe three deniers *per* livre produced twelve hundred and fifty thouſand livres a year. *About ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling.*

I have ſaid nothing yet of what is moſt admirable in this foundation, is in a manner it's ſoul, and does moſt honour to the memory of Lewis XIV. I do not mean the magnificent temple, wherein the moſt famous maſters in architecture, painting, and ſculpture, the Manſards, Decottes, Coypelles, Girardons, Couſtons, have exhauſted their whole art to adorn that auguſt pile. I mean the charitable care and chriſtian attention of that prince, after having provided, with a magnificence truly royal, for the temporal occaſions of the officers and ſoldiers, in providing alſo that they ſhould not want all the aids of religion in their retreat.

It happens ſometimes that theſe warriors take upon them the profeſſion of arms, ſolely from the views of intereſt and ambition: that though moſt accompliſhed in military knowledge, they are utterly ignorant of religion: and that full of zeal and fidelity for their prince, they never give themſelves any trouble about knowing their duty to God. How great an advantage and conſolation is it to them to find, towards the cloſe of their days, in the zeal and charity of wiſe and religious miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, thoſe inſtructions, which perhaps they have wanted in the former part of their lives; to recal in the bitterneſs of their hearts, whole years entirely paſt in vice and libertiniſm; and to retrieve by ſincere repentance and ſorrow, the reward of all their actions, even of the moſt laudable, which were otherwiſe unfortunately loſt to them from the badneſs of their motives.

The pomp and magnificence of this temple are juſtly admired. But another object preſents itſelf to our view at whatever hour of the day we enter it, a ſight far more worthy of admiration, and which cannot be looked upon without tears in our eyes: antient warriors maimed, crippled, without legs, arms, eyes, humbly proſtrating themſelves before the God of armies, whoſe majeſty they adore with the moſt profound reſignation; to whom they pay continual thankſgivings for having delivered them out of ſo many dangers, and eſpecially for having taken them from the gates of hell; to whom, filled with the moſt lively ſenſe of gratitude, they inceſſantly lift up their hands and voices, to ſay: Be mindful, O Lord, of the prince who has opened this thy ſacred aſylum for us, and be merciful to him for the mercy which he hath ſhewn to us thy ſervants.

CHAPTER II.

OF SIEGES.

THE antients diſtinguiſhed themſelves no leſs by the art of forming and ſuſtaining ſieges, than by that of making war in the field. It is agreed by all, that they carried theſe two parts of military knowledge to a very high degree of perfection, which it is difficult for the moderns to exceed. The uſe of muſkets, bombs, cannons, and other fire-arms, ſince the invention of powder, has occaſioned the alteration of many things in the manner of making war, eſpecially in ſieges, the duration of which has been very much abridged by their means. But theſe changes have not been ſo conſiderable as generally imagined, and have added nothing either to the merit or capacity of generals.

To treat what relates to ſieges with ſome order, I ſhall premiſe ſomething upon the manner in which the fortifications of the antients were formed; and ſhall then give ſome general idea of the principal machines of war uſed by them in ſieges; and conclude with the attack and defence of places. The Chevalier Follard has treated theſe ſeveral articles very extenſively in the ſecond and third volumes of his remarks upon Polybius, and has been my guide in a ſubject that required the direction of an able and experienced ſoldier.

ARTICLE I.

Of antient fortifications.

HOW far ſoever we look back into antiquity, we find amongſt the Greeks and Romans, cities fortified almoſt in the ſame manner with their foſſes, courtines, and towers. Vitruvius in treating of the conſtruction of places of war in his time, ſays, that the towers ought to project beyond the wall, in order that when the enemy approaches, the defenders upon the right and left may take them in flank: and that they ought to be round, and faced with many ſtones, becauſe ſuch as are ſquare are ſoon beat down by the machines of war and battering-rams, which eaſily break their angles. He adds after ſome remarks, that near the towers the wall ſhould be cut within-ſide the breadth of the tower, and that the ways broken in this manner ſhould only be joined and continued by beams laid upon the two extremities, without being made faſt with iron, that in caſe the enemy ſhould make himſelf maſter of any part of the wall, the beſieged might remove this wooden bridge, and thereby prevent his paſſage to the other parts of the wall and into the towers.

The beſt towns of the antients were ſituated upon eminencies. They incloſed them ſometimes within two or three walls and foſſes. Beroſus, cited by Joſephus, informs us, that Nebuchadonoſor fortified Babylon with a triple incloſure of brick walls of a ſurpriſing ſtrength and height. Polybius, ſpeaking of Syringa, the capital of Hyrcania, which Antiochus beſieged, ſays, that city was ſurrounded with three foſſes, each forty-five feet broad, and twenty-two deep; upon each ſide of theſe was a double

a double intrenchment, and, behind all, a ſtrong wall. The city of Jeruſalem, ſays Joſephus, was ſurrounded by a triple wall, except on the ſide of the valleys, where there was but one, becauſe they were inacceſſible. To theſe they had added many other works, one of which, ſays Joſephus, had it been compleated, would have rendered the city impregnable. The ſtones, of which it was built, were thirty feet long by fifteen broad, which made it ſo ſtrong, that it was in a manner impoſſible to ſap or ſhake it with machines. The whole was flanked with towers from ſpace to ſpace of extraordinary ſolidity, and built with wonderful art.

The antients did not generally ſupport their walls on the inſide with earth, in the manner of the Talus or ſlope, which made the attacks more dangerous. For though the enemy had gained ſome footing upon them, he could not aſſure himſelf of taking the city. It was neceſſary to get down, and to make uſe of part of the ladders by which he had mounted; and that deſcent expoſed the ſoldier to very great danger. Vitruvius however obſerves, that there is nothing renders a rampart ſo ſtrong as when the walls both of the courtine and towers are ſupported by earth. For then neither rams, mines, nor any other machines, can ſhake them.

The places of war of the antients were not always fortified with ſtone walls. They were ſometimes incloſed within good ramparts of earth of great firmneſs and ſolidity. The manner of coating them with turf was not unknown to them, nor the art of ſupporting the earth with ſtrong faſcines made faſt by ſtakes, and of arming the top of the rampart with a ruff or fraiſe of paliſades, and the foot of the parapet or pas de ſouris with another: they often planted paliſades alſo in the foſſe to defend themſelves againſt ſudden attacks.

They

They made walls alſo with beams croſſed over one another, with ſpaces between them in the manner of a chequer, the void parts of which they filled up with earth and ſtones. Such almoſt were the walls of the city of Bourges, deſcribed by Cæſar in his ſeventh book of the war with the Gauls.

PLATE XI. explained.

Profile and elevation of the walls of the antients.

THE lower part of this plate is a ſide-view or profile of the walls, towers, and foſſe of the antient fortifications, as deſcribed in the text according to Vitruvius.

A. The wall or courtine.

B. The towers. Theſe were ſituated at the diſtance of an arrow-ſhot from each other, for the better annoying the beſiegers upon attacks.

C. The foſſe.

The materials of theſe works differed; all places not affording the ſame kinds, and the beſt they produced being the rule for the uſe of them.

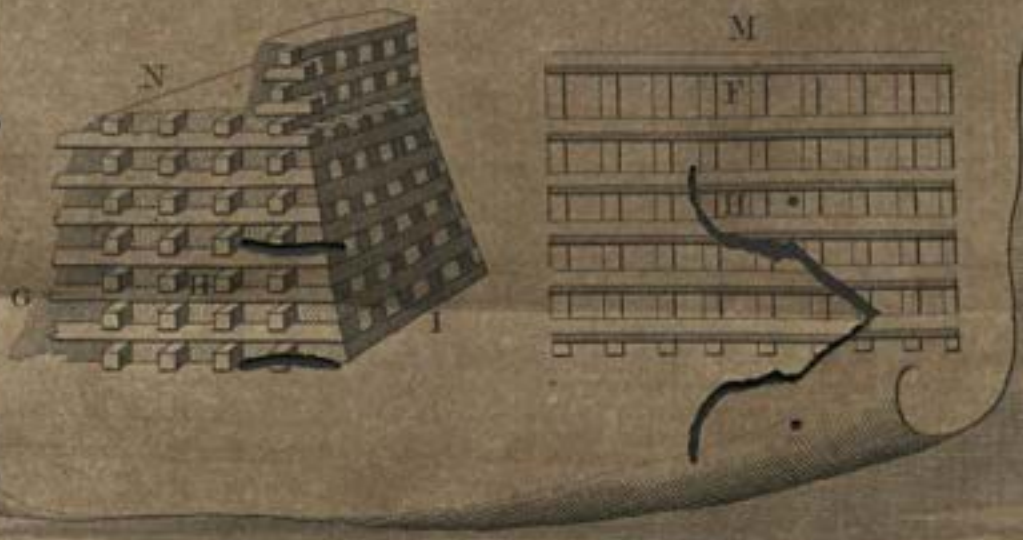
The plan and profile of the walls of Bourges, on the upper part of this plate, is an example of theſe materials and the manner of uſing them.

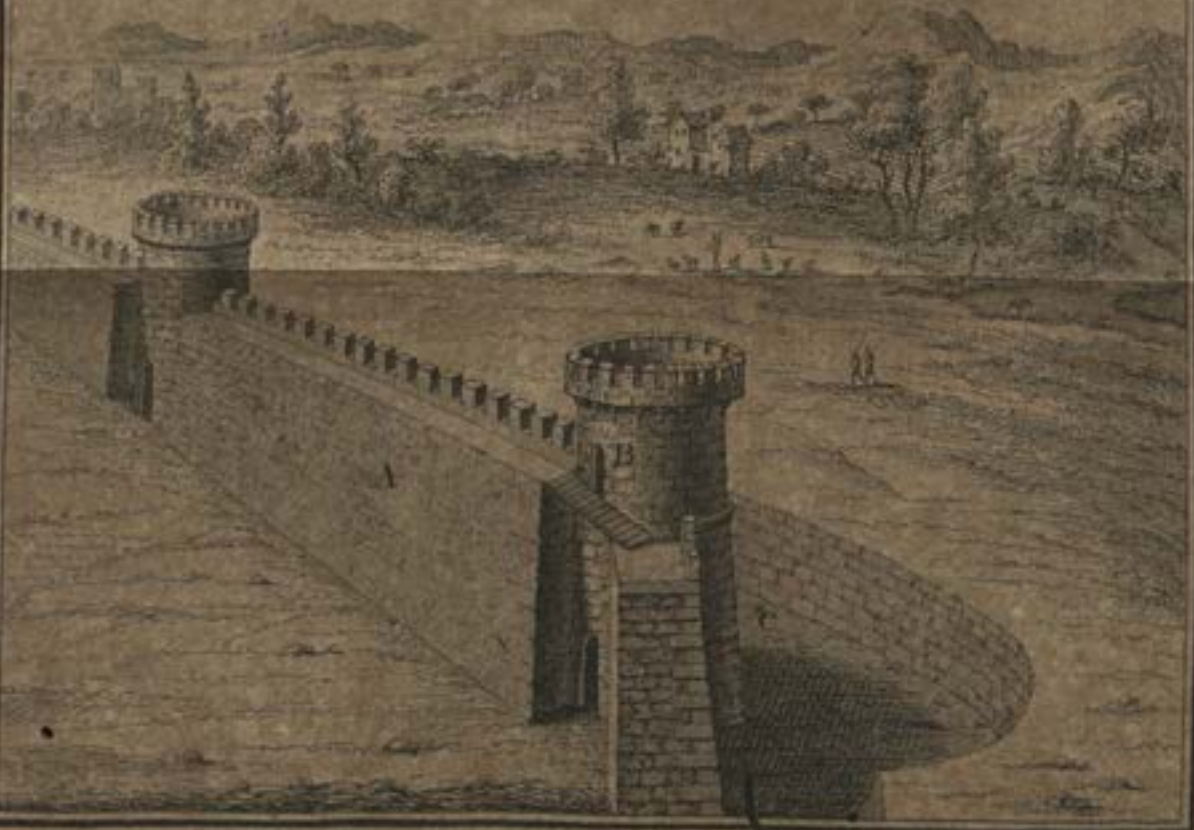
Cæſar deſcribes them thus: "The walls of "Bourges, and almoſt thoſe of the country, were "made of pieces of wood forty feet in length F, "laid along the earth at the diſtance [illegible] two feet "from each other, and croſſed over [illegible] of "equal length and at equal diſtances [illegible] "ends to the front of the wall G. The [illegible] "the inſide H were filled up with earth [illegible] "cines, and on the outſide with ſolid ſto[illegible]

W.H. Toms Sculpt.

Profile and Elevations of the Walls of the Ancient

Plan and Profile of the Walls of Bourges





Profile and [illegible] of the Walls of the [illegible]

" which manner the work was carried to the top; " the ſtone-work upon the ends, and in the ſpaces " of the wood, and the ends of the wood, &c. upon " the ſtone-work, as in the figures N M." He adds, that the work by this diſpoſition was agree- " able to the eye, and very ſtrong; becauſe the " wood was of great force againſt the ram, and " the ſtones againſt fire: beſides which, the thick- " neſs of the wall, which was generally forty feet, " or the length of the beams, made it next to im- " poſſible either to make a breach in it, or throw " it down in any manner."

What I ſhall ſay in the ſequel, when I come to explain the manner of attacking and defending places, will ſhew more diſtinctly what kind of fortifications thoſe of the antients were. It is pretended that the moderns excel them very much in this point. The thing is not ſo indiſputable but it may be called in queſtion; though no compariſon can be made between them; becauſe their manner of attacking and defending is entirely different. The moderns have retained all they could after the antients. Fire-arms have obliged them to uſe other precautions. The ſame genius is evident in both. The moderns have imagined nothing, that the antients could uſe, and have not uſed. We have borrowed from them the breadth and depth of foſſes, the thickneſs of walls, the towers to flank the courtines, the paliſades, the intrenchments within the ramparts and towers, the advantage of many flanks, in multiplying of which only modern fortification conſiſts; this fire-arms make the more eaſy to execute. I have heard theſe remarks made by able and experienced perſons, who, with a profound knowledge of the manner in which the antients made war, unite a perfect experience of the modern practice of it.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE II.

Of the machines of war.

THE machines, moſt uſed and beſt known amongſt the antients for beſieging places, were the tortoiſe, the catapulta, the baliſta, the corvus or crane, the ram, and moving towers.

SECT. I.

The tortoiſe.

THE tortoiſe was a machine compoſed of very ſtrong and ſolid timber-work. The height of it to its higheſt beam, which ſuſtained the roof, was twelve feet. The baſe was ſquare, and each of its fronts twenty five feet. It was covered with a kind of quilted mattreſs made of raw hides, and prepared with different drugs to prevent its being ſet on fire by combuſtibles. This heavy machine was ſupported upon four wheels, or perhaps upon eight. It was called tortoiſe, from its ſerving as a very ſtrong covering and defence, againſt the enormous weight thrown down on it; thoſe under it being ſafe in the ſame manner as a tortoiſe under his ſhell. It was uſed both to fill up the foſſe, and for ſapping.

For the filling up of the foſſe, it was neceſſary to join ſeveral of them together in a line and very near one another. Diodorus Siculus, ſpeaking of the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus by Alexander the Great, ſays, that he firſt cauſed three tortoiſes [illegible] in order to fill up the ditch, and that [illegible] planted his rams upon the ſpace filled up, to batter the wall. This machine is often mentioned by authors. There were, without doubt, tortoiſes of different forms and ſizes.

PLA[illegible]

W. H. Toms Sculp.

Tortoise for filling up the Fosse of a Besieged place.

PLATE XII. explained.

Tortoiſe for filling up the foſſe of a beſieged place.

THIS machine is diſtinctly enough deſcribed in the text: however, it may not be improper to add, that it is believed ſo enormous a weight could not be moved from place to place on wheels, andthat it was puſhed forwards on rollers. Under theſe wheels or rollers the way was laid with ſtrong planks (2) to facilitate its motion, and prevent its ſinking into the ground, from whence it would have been very difficult to have removed it. The antients have obſerved, that the roof had a thicker covering of hides, huddles, ſea-weed, &c. than the ſides, as it was expoſed to much greater ſhocks, from the weight thrown upon it by the beſieged. It had a door in front (3), which was drawn up by a chain as far as was neceſſary, and covered the ſoldiers at work in filling up the foſſe with faſcines.

The machine, called *Muſculus*, uſed by Cæſar in the ſiege of Marſeilles, was believed to be alſo a tortoiſe, but very low, and of a great length: it would be called in theſe days a wooden gallery. It is likely that its length was equal to the breadth of the foſſe. Cæſar cauſed it to be puſhed on to the foot of the walls, in order to demoliſh them by ſap. Cæſar however often diſtinguiſhes the tortoiſe from the *Muſculus*.

PLATE

PLATE XIII. explained.

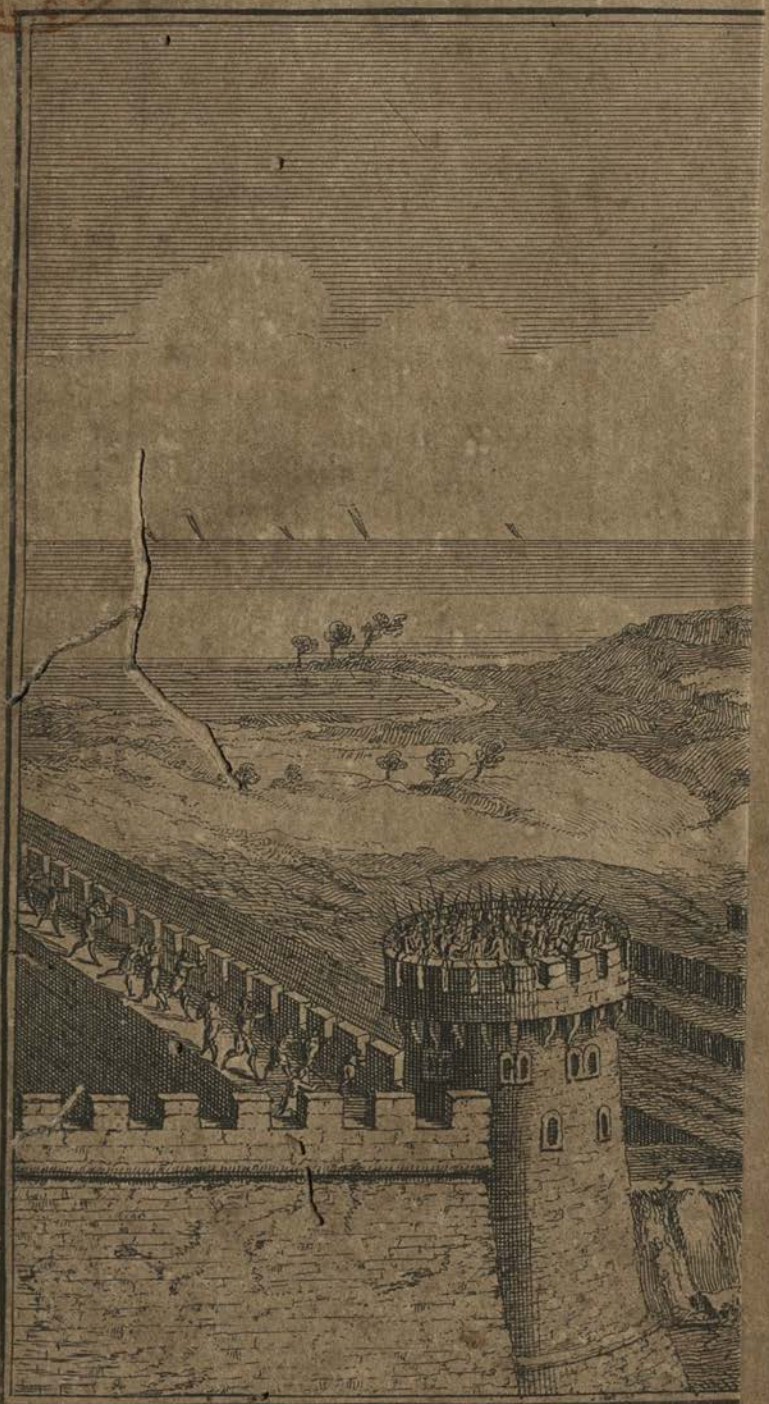
Cæſar's Muſculus, or wooden gallery, at the ſiege of Marſeilles.

THE Muſculus, though very little underſtood by modern authors, who have repreſented it variouſly, was undoubtedly a kind of tortoiſe, very low, and with a ſharp roof. Such was that of Cæſar at the ſiege of Marſeilles as in the plate (2). It was ſixty feet in length, and was moved forwards to the walls upon rollers, where it was fixed over the part of the ditch filled up (3). The tower of brick (4), which he built there, communicated with this muſculus and the trenches (5).

Cæſar ſays the planks of the roof were covered with bricks and mortar, over which hides were laid to prevent the mortar from diſſolving by the water, which the beſieged might pour down upon it; and, to ſecure it from ſtones and fire, it was again covered over with thick quilted mattreſſes properly prepared: all this was done under mantles *(vineis)* after which it was thruſt forwards on a ſudden from the tower to the walls.

Beſides this, there was another kind of muſculus, that was uſed for levelling the ground, and laying the planks, on which the tortoiſes and moving towers were to advance to the foſſe; they were, like this, of greater length than breadth, and equal in breadth to the way they were to level.

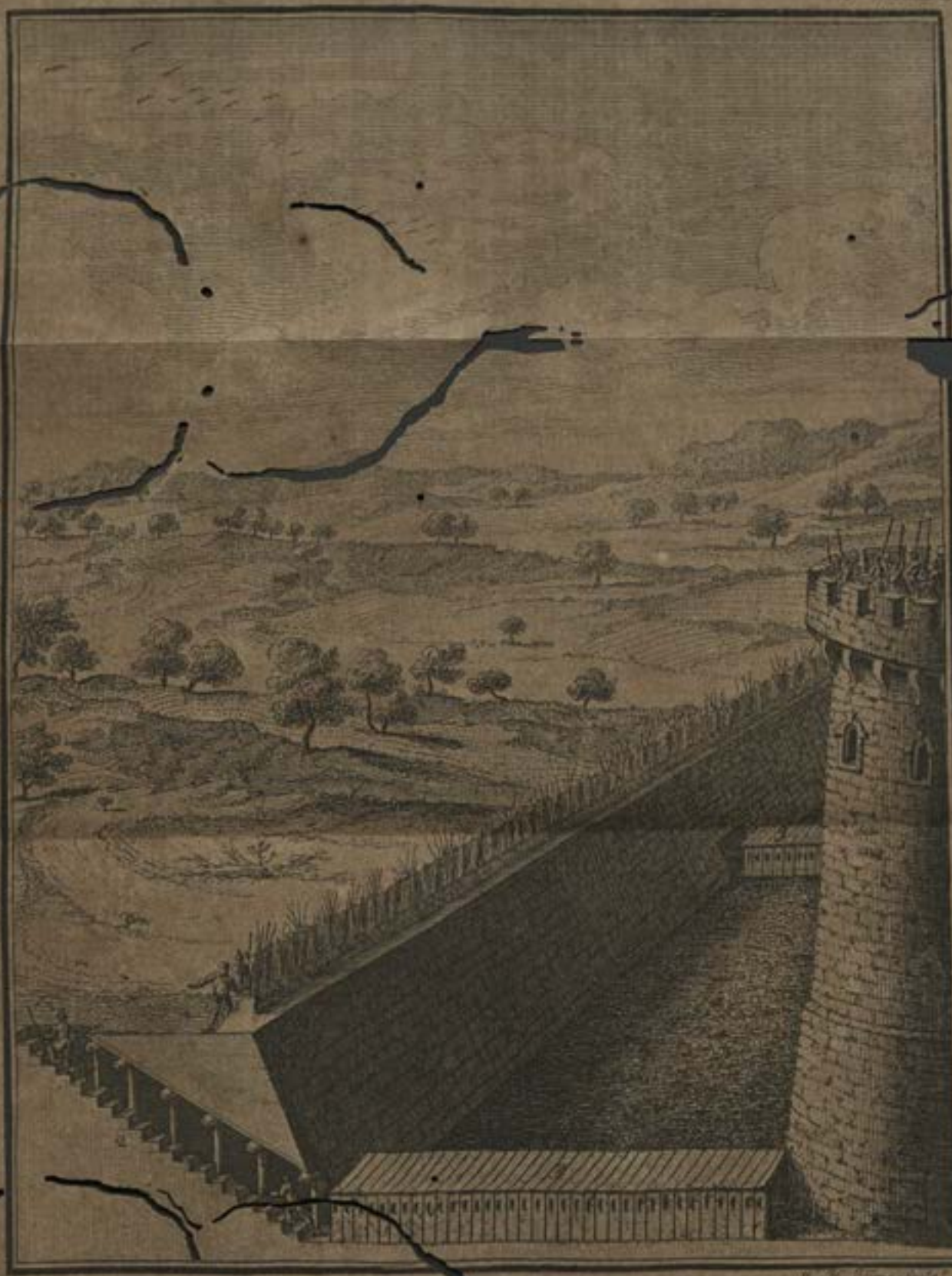
PLATE



Cæsar's Musculus, or Wooden G

Caesar's Musculus or Wooden Gallery, and Brick Tower at the Seige of Marseilles.

Plate XV.



Descent and Passage of the Fossa by the Ancients.

PLATE XIV. explained.

Deſcent and paſſage of the foſſes by the antients.

THE manner, in which the antients filled up the foſſes of beſieged places, differed little from that of the moderns: for, except the tortoiſe and muſculus, which the invention of artillery has occaſioned the latter to abandon, there is nothing practiſed now, that was not in uſe amongſt the antients. What they called tortoiſes of earth were only trenches cut in the earth, and blinded at top in form of a gallery, from the laſt line covered with hurdles or faſcines interwoven to the edge of the foſſe. It appears from hiſtory, that they had another method, when the foſſe was dry. They opened a ſubterraneous gallery or mine (2) into the foſſe, which they entered through an opening in the counterſcarp, where they erected a muſculus, or wooden gallery (3) of the whole breadth of the foſſe. Under this machine they worked at ſapping the wall.

There were alſo ſeveral other machines intended to cover the ſoldiers, called *crates*, *plutei*, *vineæ*, &c. that were uſed in ſieges, which I ſhall not undertake to deſcribe here, to avoid prolixity. They may be comprized in general under the name of mantles, *or ſheds*.

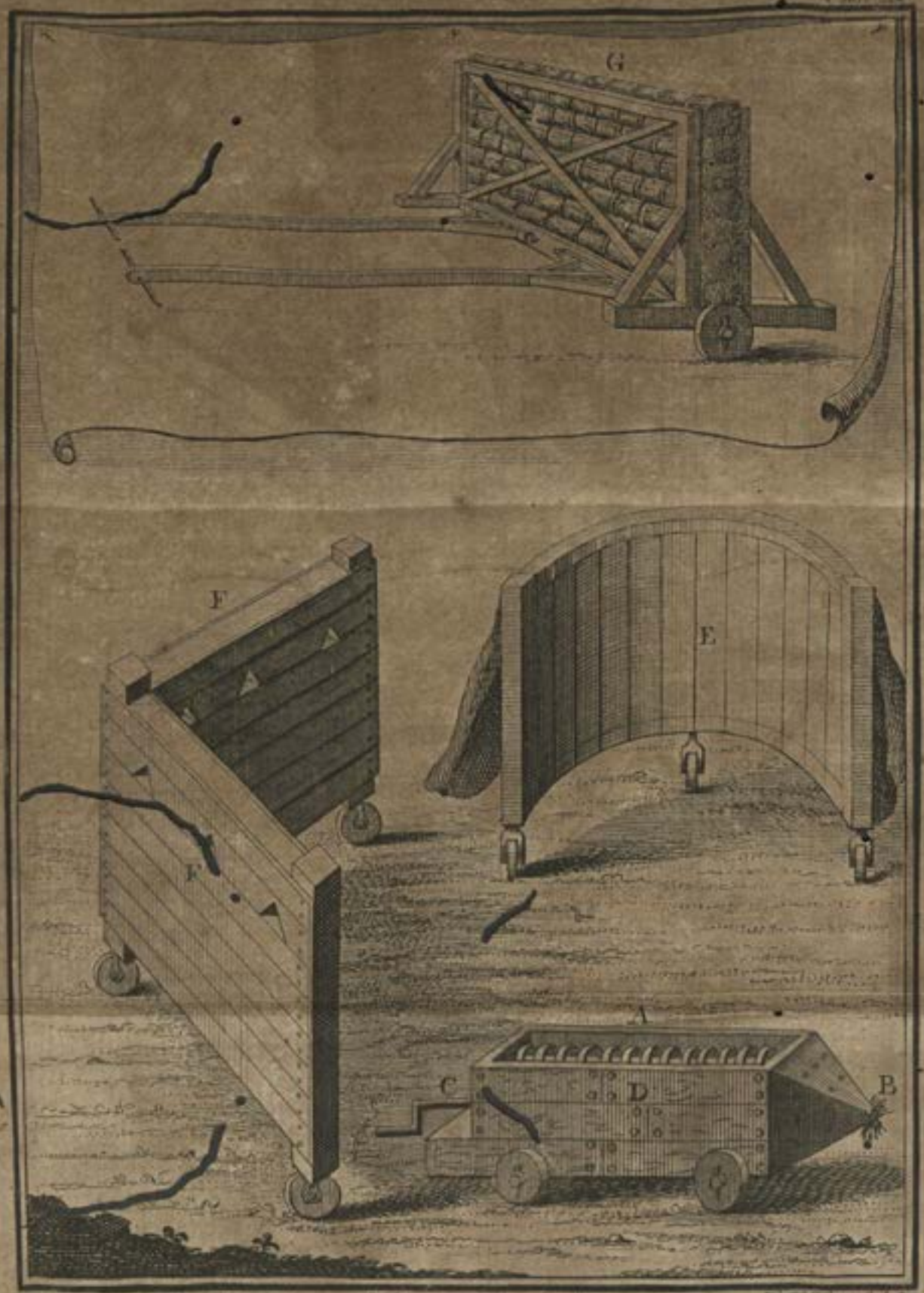
PLATE XV. explained.

The muſculus and pluteus of the antients.

SOME authors, as Lipſius and Stewechius after Choul, have repreſented the muſculus of the antients as in the figure A. Stewechius, ſays the Chevalier Follard, adorns it comically enough with a beard or whiſkers. It is plain, adds the ſame author, theſe writers do not know what they mean themſelves, though they conclude this a machine for demoliſhing walls, and give it as much as poſſible the form of a rat. If, continues he, I might venture a pleaſantry, I ſhould ſay that abundance of theſe animals were neceſſary for the execution of ſuch a deſign. They have put a handle to it C without which their rat would have no tail. As for the ſcrew D, I leave that, ſays he, to the more penetrating; for my part, it is above my comprehenſion. But, whatever they imagined, it is plain that Cæſar's muſculus was a wooden gallery to cover the troops in ſapping a wall, as in Plate XIII.

The figure marked E is the pluteus of the antients according to Vegetius. It was made of wood in a kind of ſemicircular form, and covered with hurdles of oſiers over which raw hides were laid. It moved upon three ſmall wheels, one in the centre, and two at the extremities. This deſcription is ſuppoſed to be erroneous, and that the pluteus was covered at top to defend the ſoldiers behind it againſt downright blows.

The figure marked F is a kind of modern pluteus, called a mantle. Its form was triangular, and it moved upon three wheels diſpoſed as the former. Mr. Follard conceives the pluteus or mantle marked



The Musculus and Pluteus of the Ancients

ed G, of his own invention, would be of more ſervice in opening the trenches neareſt to a beſieged place. He ſays the faſcines ſhould be of oſiers, and five or ſix inches thick, and the height of the machine four or five feet by ſix long. The ſoldiers may eaſily puſh it before them, and cover themſelves behind it whilſt they work. The wheels he adds would make ſome noiſe, but that ſignifies little, whilſt it covers the workmen from the fire of the place.

Beſides the tortoiſe, the wooden machine I have been ſpeaking of, there was another compoſed of ſoldiers, which may be ranked in the number of machines of war. A body of ſoldiers, drawn up together, put their great ſhields, in the form of gutter-tiles, cloſe to each other over their heads. Well practiſed in this exerciſe, they formed ſo firm a roof, that, whatever efforts the beſieged might make, they could neither break nor move them. Upon this firſt tortoiſe of ſoldiers, a ſecond was made to mount; and by this means they ſometimes roſe to an equal height with the walls of the place beſieged.

SECT. II.

Catapulta. Baliſta.

I Join theſe two machines together, though authors diſtinguiſh them: but they alſo often confound them, and it would be difficult to ſettle exactly the difference. They were both intended for diſcharging darts, arrows, and ſtones. They were of different ſizes, and conſequently produced more or leſs effect. Some were uſed in battles, and might be called field-pieces; others were employed in ſieges, which was the uſe moſt commonly made of them. The baliſtæ muſt have been the heavieſt and moſt difficult to carry; becauſe there was always a greater number of the catapultæ in the armies. Livy, in his deſcription of the ſiege of Carthage, ſays, that there were an hundred and twenty great, and more than two hundred ſmall catapultæ taken, with thirty-three great baliſtæ, and fifty-two ſmall ones. Joſephus mentions the ſame difference amongſt the Romans, who had three hundred catapultæ, and forty baliſtæ, at the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

Theſe machines had a force which it is not eaſy to comprehend, but which all good authors atteſt.

Vegetius ſays, that the baliſta diſcharged darts with ſuch rapidity and violence, that nothing could reſiſt their force. Athenæus tells us, that Ageſiſtratus made one of little more than two feet in length, which ſhot darts almoſt five hundred paces. Theſe machines were not unlike our croſs-bows. There were others of much greater ſize, which threw ſtones of

three

three hundred weight, upwards of an hundred and twenty-five paces.

We find ſurpriſing effects of theſe machines in Joſephus: "The darts and force of the catapultæ "deſtroyed abundance of people. The ſtones "from the machines beat down the battlements, "and broke the angles of the towers. There was "no phalanx ſo deep but one of theſe ſtones would "ſweep an whole file of it from one end to the "other. Things paſſed this night that ſhewed the "prodigious force of theſe machines. A man, "who ſtood by Joſephus, had his head taken off "by a ſtone at an hundred and ſeventy-five paces "diſtance." It were better to ſuppoſe that the ſtone, which took off this man's head, was diſcharged from a machine at three hundred and ſeventy-five paces diſtance; and the Greek ſeems to require this ſenſe, though the interpreters explain it otherwiſe: τὸ κρανίον ἀπὸ τριῶν ἰσοφαλάγγων σταδίων.

PLATE XVI. explained.

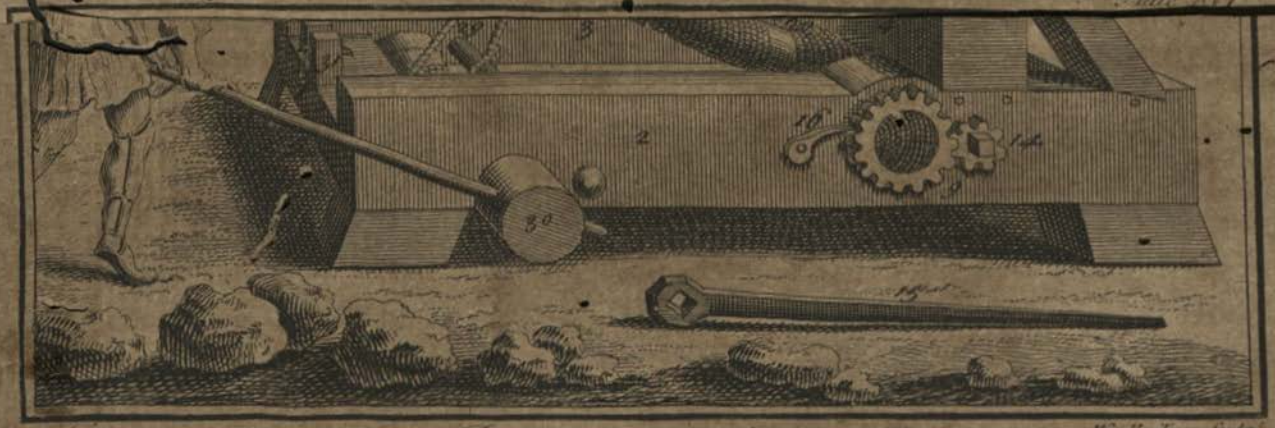
Battering catapulta.

THIS plate repreſents the form and conſtruction of a catapulta that is ſuppoſed to carry an hundred weight, which may ſuffice as the doctrine of all the reſt to ſuch as carried twelve hundred and upwards, it being eaſy to increaſe their powers.

The baſe is compoſed of two large beams (2) (3). The length of thoſe beams is fifteen diameters of the bore of the capitals, which meaſure will be explained when we deſcribe the capitals (9). At the two extremities of each beam two double mortiſes are to be cut to receive the eight tenons of the two croſs-beams (4) (5), each of them four of the above diameters in length, without their tenons, obſerving to mark the centre of them exactly by a line cut ſtrong in the wood (6). The croſs-beam (5) muſt be hollowed a little on the upper ſide, or made not ſo thick as that at the other end (4), to give the greater bent to the tree or arm (22) of which we ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

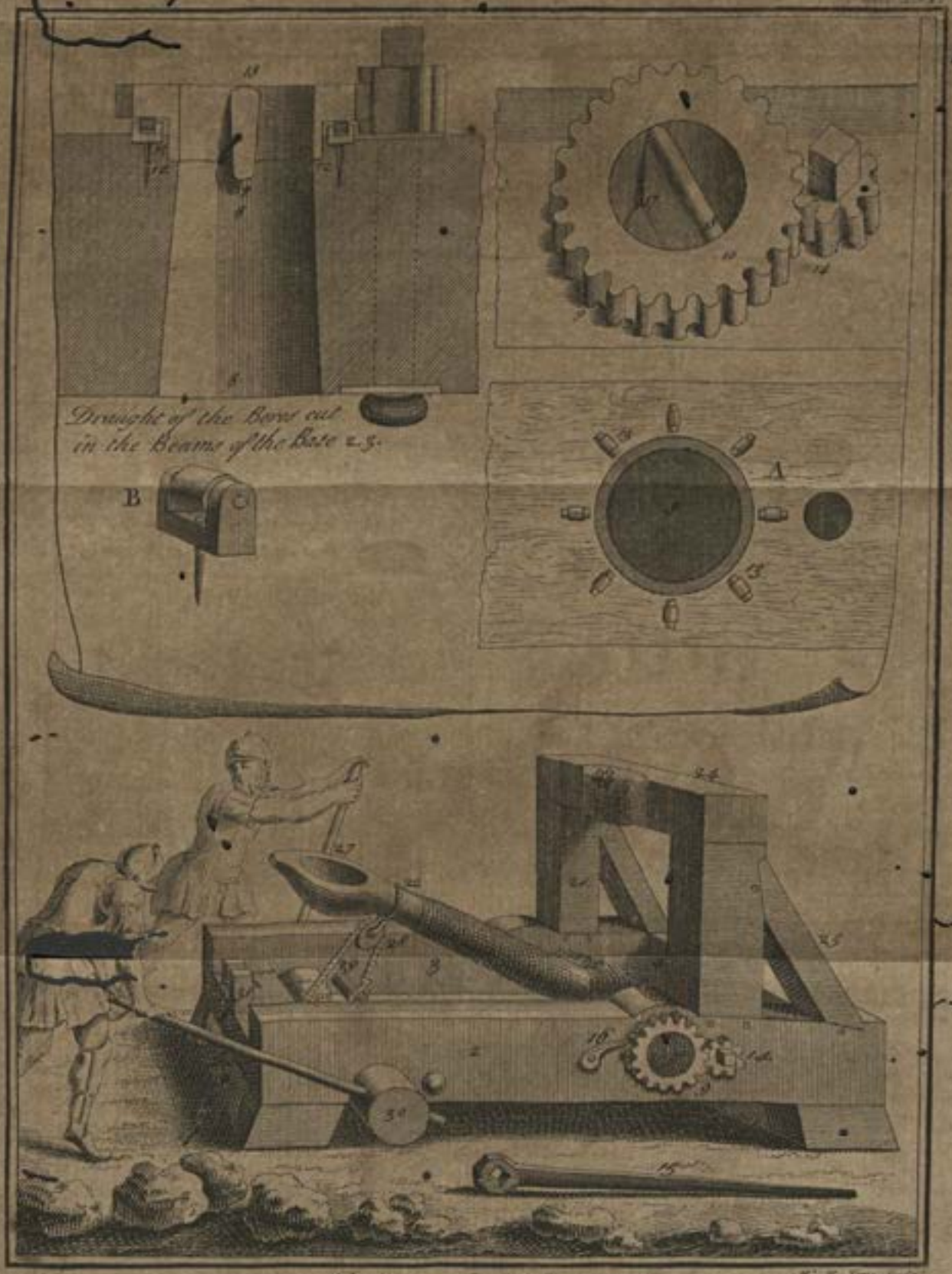
In the centre of each of the beams of the baſe (2) (3), at the ſixth diameter of their length, a bore (8) perfectly round ſhould be cut ſixteen inches in diameter: theſe bores muſt be exactly oppoſite to each other, and ſhould increaſe gradually to the inſide of the beams; ſo that each of them, being ſixteen inches on the outſide towards the capitals (9), ſhould be ſeventeen and an half at the opening on the inſide; the edges to be carefully rounded off. We come now to the deſcription of the capitals (9), which are in a manner the ſoul of the machine, and

ſerve



Battering Catapulta.

W. H. Toms Sculp.



Battering Catapulta.

ſerve to twiſt and ſtrain the cordage, that are its principle, or power of motion.

The capitals (9) are either of caſt braſs, or iron, each conſiſting of a wheel with teeth (10) of two inches and an half thick. The hollow or bore of theſe wheels ſhould be eleven inches and about a fourth in diameter, perfectly round and with the edges ſmoothed down. The inward ledge (11) muſt be four inches deep and one thick; but, as that thickneſs would make it larger by one inch than the outſide bore of the beams (2) (3), they muſt be cut to the depth of four inches (12), ſo as to receive it exactly. As the friction would be too great, if the capitals rubbed againſt the beams, by the extreme ſtraining of the cordage which draws them towards theſe beams, that inconvenience may be eaſily remedied by the means of eight little wheels (13) of an inch in diameter, and an inch and one ſixth in length, as in Fig. B, placed circularly, and turning upon axes as in Fig. A.

Theſe little wheels or cylinders of caſt braſs ſhould be round, and equal in their diameters, that the capitals may work equally on all ſides.

Upon this number of cylindrical wheels, the capitals (9) muſt be placed in the beams (2) (3), ſo that the cylinders do not extend to the teeth of the wheels, which muſt receive a ſtrong pinion (14). By the means of this pinion, the wheel of the capital is made to turn for ſtraining the cordage with the key (15). To the wheel a ſtrong ſtay (16) is annexed, and another of the ſame kind may be added, to prevent any thing from giving way through the extreme and violent force of the ſtrained cordage. Theſe precautions are neceſſary upon account of the cylindrical wheels, which, by entirely preventing the friction of the capitals, make them the more eaſy to give way through the extraordinary and almoſt inconceivable tenſion of the

cordage. This muſt be ſtill greater in a catapulta carrying four hundred weight or upwards. In ſuch large machines, the wheels ought to be multiplied, and, for the greater precaution, a ſtrong ſtay added to every wheel. We come now to the *Capital-piece*, or piece within the capital, over which the cordage is folded, and which ſuſtains the whole force in ſtraining it to the proper height.

This capital-piece is a nut or croſs pin of iron (17) hammered cold into form, that divides the bore of the capitals exactly in two equal parts at their diameters, into which it is inſerted at the depth of about an inch. This piece or nut ought to be about two inches and one third thick at top (18), and rounded off and poliſhed as much as poſſible, that the cords folded over may not be hurt or cut by the roughneſs or edges of the iron. Its height ought to be eight inches, decreaſing gradually in thickneſs to the bottom (19), where it ought to be only one inch. It muſt be very exactly inſerted in the capitals: its depth of eight inches adds force to the engine, and prevents its giving way through the ſtraining of the cordage. Perhaps its being caſt with the capital, and of the ſame metal, might have an equal, if not a better effect.

After applying the two capitals to the bores of the two beams in the baſe, in an exact line with each other, and fixing the two croſs diametrical nuts or pieces, over which the cordage is to fold, one end of the cord is put through the void ſpace of one of the capitals in the baſe, and made faſt to a nail withinſide of the beam. The other end of the cord is then carried through the bore in the oppoſite beam and capital, and ſo folded or wound over the croſs-pieces of iron in the center of the two capitals till they are quite full, the cordage forming a large ſkain (20). When this is done, the laſt end of the cord is tied to the firſt which I

have

have mentioned. The tenſion or ſtraining of the cordage ought to be exactly equal, that is to ſay, the ſeveral foldings of cord over the capital pieces ſhould be equally ſtrained, and ſo near each other, as not to leave the leaſt ſpace between them. As ſoon as the firſt folding or bed of cord has filled up one whole ſpace or breadth of the capital pieces, another muſt be carried over it; and ſo on, always equally ſtraining the cord till no more will paſs through the capitals, and the ſkain of cordage entirely fills them, obſerving to rub it from time to time with ſoap. The cord may alſo be carried thro' with both ends, taking it from the centre.

At three or four inches behind the cordage thus wound over the capital-pieces, two very ſtrong upright beams (21) are raiſed: theſe are poſts of oak, fourteen inches thick, croſſed over at top by another of the ſame ſolidity. As this part of the machine is two or three inches behind the ſkain of cordage, it muſt have a ſmall obliquity towards the cordage, in ſuch a manner, that the arm or tree (22) fixed at the bottom, exactly in the centre of the cordage, half of which holds it on one ſide, and half on the other, it is neceſſary, I ſay, that the arm ſtrike with ſome obliquity againſt the cuſhion or ſtomacher (23), which muſt be placed exactly in the middle of the croſs-beam (24). Without this obliquity the ſpring of the cordage would be ſomething abated from relaxing before the tree reached the croſs-beam. The height of the upright beams (21) is ſeven diameters and an half, and three inches, each propped behind with very ſtrong props, fixed at bottom in the extremities of the baſe (2)(3). The croſs-beam (24) muſt be propped in the ſame manner in the centre (26). The upright and croſs beams, props, &c. in this part of the machine, ſhould be ſtrengthened, eſpecially in the joints, with double ſquares of iron of four inches

inches broad, and a quarter of an inch thick, pinned with ſtrong pins, keyed at the end of them to keep them firm. Care muſt be taken to place the cuſhion or ſtomacher in the centre, as has been ſaid. It ſhould be covered with tanned ox-hide and ſtuffed with hair, the arm ſtriking againſt it with inconceivable force.

When the Catapulta is to batter with ſtones, the bottom of the arm muſt be placed exactly in the centre of the ſkain or cordage. This is the more important, becauſe, if it be not exactly in the middle, the tenſion would be unequal; and whatever cordage ſhould be more on the one than the other ſide, would infallibly break in ſtraining, which is worth noting. To prevent miſtakes in ſo important a circumſtance, a piece of wood, of the ſame bigneſs with the end of the tree or arm, might be fixed in the ſkain of cordage when formed. The ſame piece of wood might ſerve to mark the centre of the cords, in carrying them backwards and forwards through the ſpaces in the capitals.

The tree, arm, or *Stylus*, as Ammianus Marcellinus calls it, ſhould be of excellent aſh, the ſoundeſt that can be got. Its length is from fifteen to ſixteen diameters of the bore of the capitals. The end at bottom to be fixed in the middle of the ſkain is ten inches thick, by fourteen broad: that is to ſay, it ſhould be narrower in the firſt than ſecond dimenſion, to make it the ſtronger, and prevent it's bending: for, if the arms bends, it muſt have more breadth.

The bottom of the arm which the cords receive, muſt have theſe dimenſions, its edges being ſmoothed off; for, without that precaution, they would fret or cut the cordage, which are of cat-gut. The reſt of the arm ſhould be made in an elliptical form, not ſo thick by an inch as the end fixed in the cords, and of the ſame breadth, to the place where

it

it ſtrikes againſt the ſtomacher, which ought to be ſomewhat thicker, but flat, leaſt the violence of the ſtroke cut it in two: in the ſame place the arm ſhould be a little curve.

To ſtrengthen the arm or tree, of which the force of being diſcharged is every thing that can be conceived of moſt violent, it ſhould be wrapped round with a cloth dipped in ſtrong glue, like the tree of a ſaddle, and bound very hard with waxed thread of the ſixth of an inch in diameter from the large end at bottom, almoſt to the top, as in the plate.

The force of this arm is entirely ſurpriſing, when the trigger is ſtruck. The experiments Mr. Follard made of it in his catapulta convinced him of this. Though his machine threw only a weight of half a pound, the working of the arm in great machines might be judged from it. The antients who experienced the ſame every day, had no better expedient to prevent the arms of this kind of machine from breaking, than to make them of two pieces of wood of equal length. Theſe they joined together with abundance of art and care, and ſtrengthened with a ſtrong binding of wax cord. We proceed now to the manner of working the catapulta.

At the top of the arm juſt under the iron hand or receiver (27), a ſtrong cord is made faſt, with two loops to it twiſted the one within the other for ſtrength. Into theſe two loops the hook of the pulley (28) is put; this pulley ſhould be of braſs with double wheels. Upon occaſion, another may be hooked on at bottom, and to the centre of the cock or trigger. The cord (29) is then put through the wheels of the two pullies, and faſtened to the roll (30), round which, in turning, it divides itſelf. The roll ought to be placed in ſuch a manner that the end of the arm at top, to which the pulley is hooked,

hooked, may almoſt touch it, when the hand or receiver is come to it's proper place at bottom. The cock or trigger (31), which ſerves as a ſtay, is then brought to it, and made faſt by its hook to the extremity of the hand, which is either in the form of a ſpoon, as in the plate; or of an iron hand, with three branches a little curve: in this the body to be diſcharged is put. If the machine is to throw flints, they are put into an oſier baſket, that exactly fits the hand or receiver: the pulley at the neck of the arm is then unhooked, and when the trigger is to let it off, a ſtroke muſt be given upon it with an iron bar or crow, of about an inch in diameter; the arm then goes off, with a force little unequal to that of a modern mortar. It is to be obſerved, that the tree or arm deſcribes an angle of ninety degrees, beginning at the cock, and ending at the ſtomacher or cuſhion. See the ſecond plate of the catapulta (32), to which this explanation refers in another inſtance or two.

My little catapulta, ſays Mr. Follard, is only ten inches long by thirteen broad. It throws a ball of lead, of a pound weight, almoſt five hundred yards. This kind of machines carry a greater or leſs way, according to the points of elevation given them, and their different degrees or beds of the cordage, which we have carried to thirty-ſix. We believe, that a catapulta, according to the proportions here laid down, muſt carry at leaſt eight hundred yards. However, adds he, we do not pretend to advance this as a certainty, not having had opportunity to make the experiment.

PLATE

Battering Catapulta with its Capitals affixed in its upright beams, and Canal for throwing great Darts, or many at a time.

PLATE XVII. explained.

Another battering catapulta, with its capitals affixed in its upright beams, and a canal for throwing great darts, or many at a time.

ARE the two double beams of the capitals fixed upright upon the baſe C, and ſupported by the props D, with tenons and mortiſes, which ſerve to ſtrengthen them againſt the ſtroke of the arm E upon the croſs-beam F, which ſhould have its cuſhion or ſtomacher G.

When the arm E is to be brought down to the croſs-beam H, it is done by the roller K, round which runs the cable L. The cock M is then brought to it, which ought to be a little curve. This catapulta is ſcarce leſs ſimple than the former, and, according to Mr. Follard, might be of great uſe in beſieged places, if planted at bottom, and behind the walls.

It was particularly uſed for throwing darts of an extraordinary ſize, and ſometimes ſeveral together; the other threw both ſtones and darts at once, and in very great numbers. The ſame author ſays, that he doubted at firſt whether the catapulta could do this or no, but was not long without diſcovering the myſtery. As there is ſomething curious in it, he gives the following explanation of it.

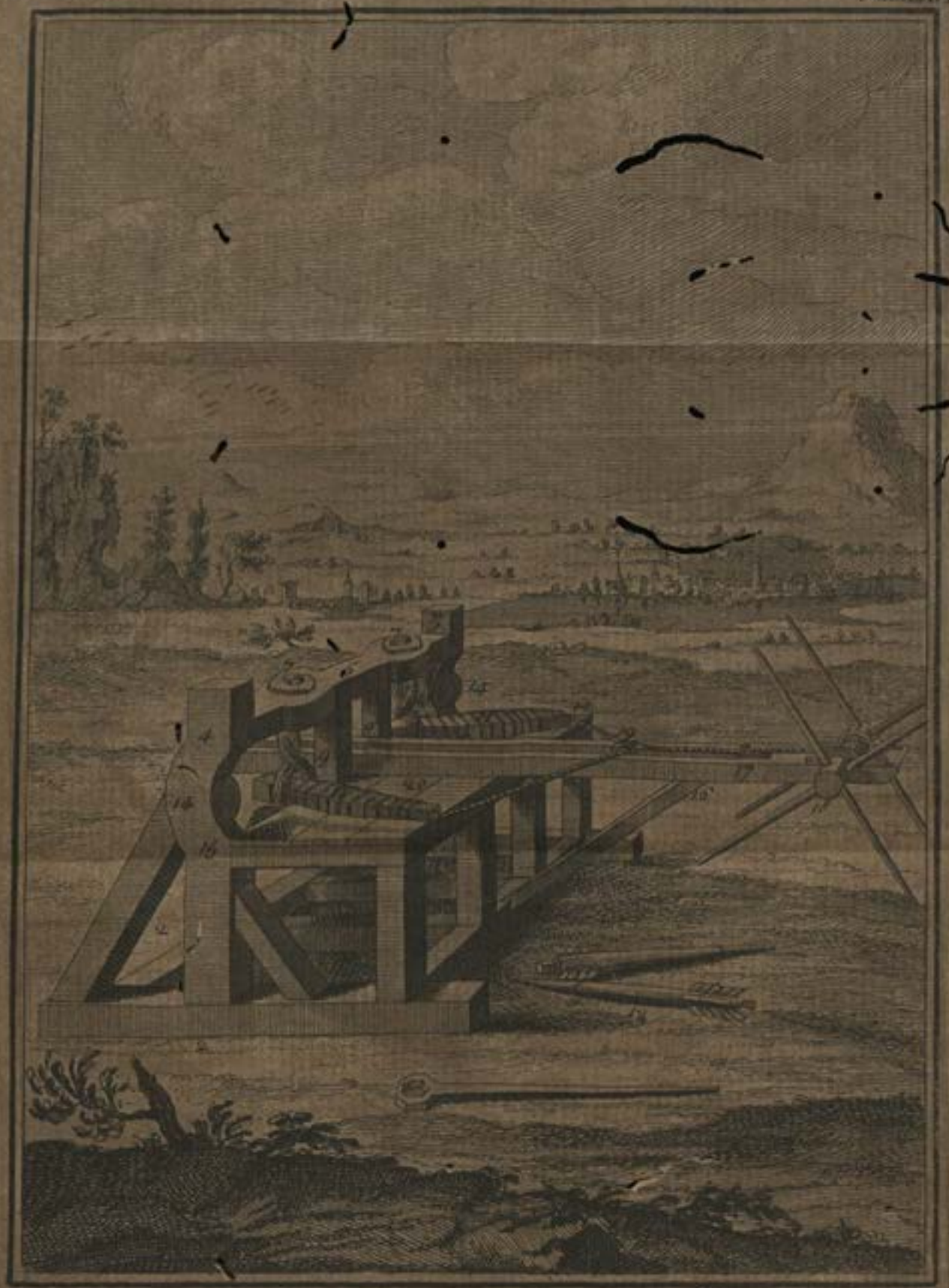
N is a canal of oak rounded withinſide in form of a gutter. It's length is ſix diameters of the capitals, and its breadth in proportion to the ſize of the large dart O, or bundle of darts to be diſcharged. Theſe darts were larger and longer, and more or leſs in number, according to the ſize of the machine.

When

When arrows were to be ſhot in the manner of cartridges, the end of the canal or gutter was placed in a cut of the depth of two inches in the centre of the croſs-beam F, which it fitted exactly. It entered about two inches into the cuſhion or ſtomacher, ſupported by the prop P, to hinder it from bending or giving way. The upper part of the arm ought to be flat at the place where it ſtrikes the great dart or cartridge, and covered with a plate of ſteel, a quarter of an inch thick.

To diſcharge a bundle of large darts, they undoubtedly made uſe of a deal box of a round form, into which the bundle of arrows were put, tied with a very ſmall twine in the middle, to keep them in a right line and parallel with each other. This box was put into the canal or gutter, and projected ſix or ſeven inches beyond the cuſhion towards the arm. It muſt have been very ſlight, looſely put together, and of little or no weight, except at the end ſtruck by the arm, which, it is ſuppoſed, might be an inch thick or upwards. It's length was according to that of the arrows, that is to ſay, it ſhould be about half as long, their length being two diameters and an half *(of the bore of the capitals as in the former catapulta)*. The trigger was then ſtruck, and the arm, coming flat againſt the box, drove it with the arrows to a very great diſtance. The wind took the pieces of the box, which ſoon ſeparated, and the arrows, ſcattering and ſpreading in their flight, did terrible execution in the ranks of the enemy. My little catapulta, ſays Mr. Follard, (from whoſe Polybius moſt of theſe extracts are made) diſcharged ten arrows in this manner, to the diſtance of almoſt an hundred paces, at eight degrees of elevation. The antients no doubt made uſe of the quadrant in planting their machines, as the moderns do for their mortars.

PLATE



The Balista used in Sieges.

PLATE XVIII. explained.

The baliſta uſed in ſieges.

THE baliſta was uſed particularly to diſcharge darts of a ſurpriſing length and weight, and often many ſmall ones together. It ſometimes carried leaden bullets of equal weight to the darts it diſcharged. This, ſays Mr. Follard, is plain from experiments, but we are convinced, adds he, that it was ſeldom uſed in the latter manner. Its form was not unlike that of a broken bow; it had two arms, but ſtraight and not curve like thoſe of the croſs-bow, of which the whole acting force conſiſts in bending the bow. That of the baliſta, as well as of the catapulta, lies in its cords; which will diſpenſe with our entering too circumſtantially into the deſcription of its different parts. The plate will explain infinitely better its ſtructure, and the powers that act it, than can be done in words.

The baliſta in the plate is ſuppoſed to be one that carried a dart of ſixty pounds weight, of the length of three feet, nine inches, and three quarters, that is to ſay, according to Vitruvius, that the bores of the capitals were eight inches and three quarters in diameter, or one fifth of the length of the dart which the machine carried. It is compoſed of a baſe (2), two upright beams (3) (4) of fifteen diameters and five ſixths in height without the tenons; and of two croſs-beams (5) (6), ſeventeen diameters five ſixths long. (7) The capitals of the croſs-beam (5). (8) The capitals of the croſs-beams below (6); both which muſt be underſtood to anſwer exactly to thoſe above (7). Theſe two croſs-beams are propped and ſtrengthened by the

the ſquare poſts (9), which are five diameters in height without the tenons, and of equal thickneſs with the upright beams. The ſpace between the two poſts (9), and the upright beams (3) (4), is about ſeven diameters. (10) The two ſkains of cordage on the right and left. (11) The two arms engaged in the centre of thoſe ſkains. The length of thoſe arms is ten diameters, including the two hooks at the extremity of each of them, in which the cord (12), or, to ſpeak more properly, the great cable, is faſtened like the ſtring of a croſs-bow. This cable ought to be of cat-gut, exceedingly ſtrained and twiſted together; whence it lengthens in charging, and contracts in diſcharging, and thereby gives ſome addition of force to the machine.

The ends of the arms have no receiver as the catapulta, and ought to be of one form, perfectly equal in their thickneſs, length, and weight, without bending when ſtrained to the utmoſt. The darts (13) ought to be as exactly equal in all reſpects as the arms, which muſt be placed in a parallel line, and, in conſequence, on the ſame height in the centre of the two ſkains of cordage (10).

The two upright beams (3) (4) ought to be curve at the place marked (14), where the arms ſtrike in diſcharging. In this hollow or curve place, the cuſhions (15) muſt be affixed. By the hollowing theſe upright beams in this manner, the arms are in a parallel line with the cordage, and each deſcribes a right angle, when ſtrained to the utmoſt in charging. It is of no great conſequence whether the arms of the baliſta ſtrike againſt the cuſhions with their ends or middles; ſo that the croſs-beams (5) (6), wherein the capitals (7) are affixed with the cordage, may be ſhortened as much as convenient without retrenching the height of the machine. This muſt ſuit the field-baliſta beſt.

The

The ſpace between the two poſts (9), which ought to be in the centre between the two croſs-beams, where the tree (16) is inſerted, muſt be ſomething narrower than that tree, in order that cuts of two or three inches may be made in each ſide the poſt (9) to keep it in form. In this tree (16) a canal or gutter muſt be made in an exactly right line, to receive and guide the great dart. Its length is in proportion to the bending of the two arms with the cord (12): in the ſame manner the length of its canal is known, and the place where the nut of the cock or trigger (17) is to be fixed, to receive the cord or cable at the end of the arms, as the ſtring of a bow, in its centre. This nut or hook holds faſt the cord, and the cock or trigger is of the ſame kind with that of the croſs-bow. In reſpect to the tree with the canal in it (16), it muſt be exactly of the ſame height with the cord (12), which ought to rub upon it: for, if the cord were higher, it would not take the dart; and if it preſſed too much upon it, there would be a friction upon the tree with the canal in which the dart lies, that would leſſen the force impelling it.

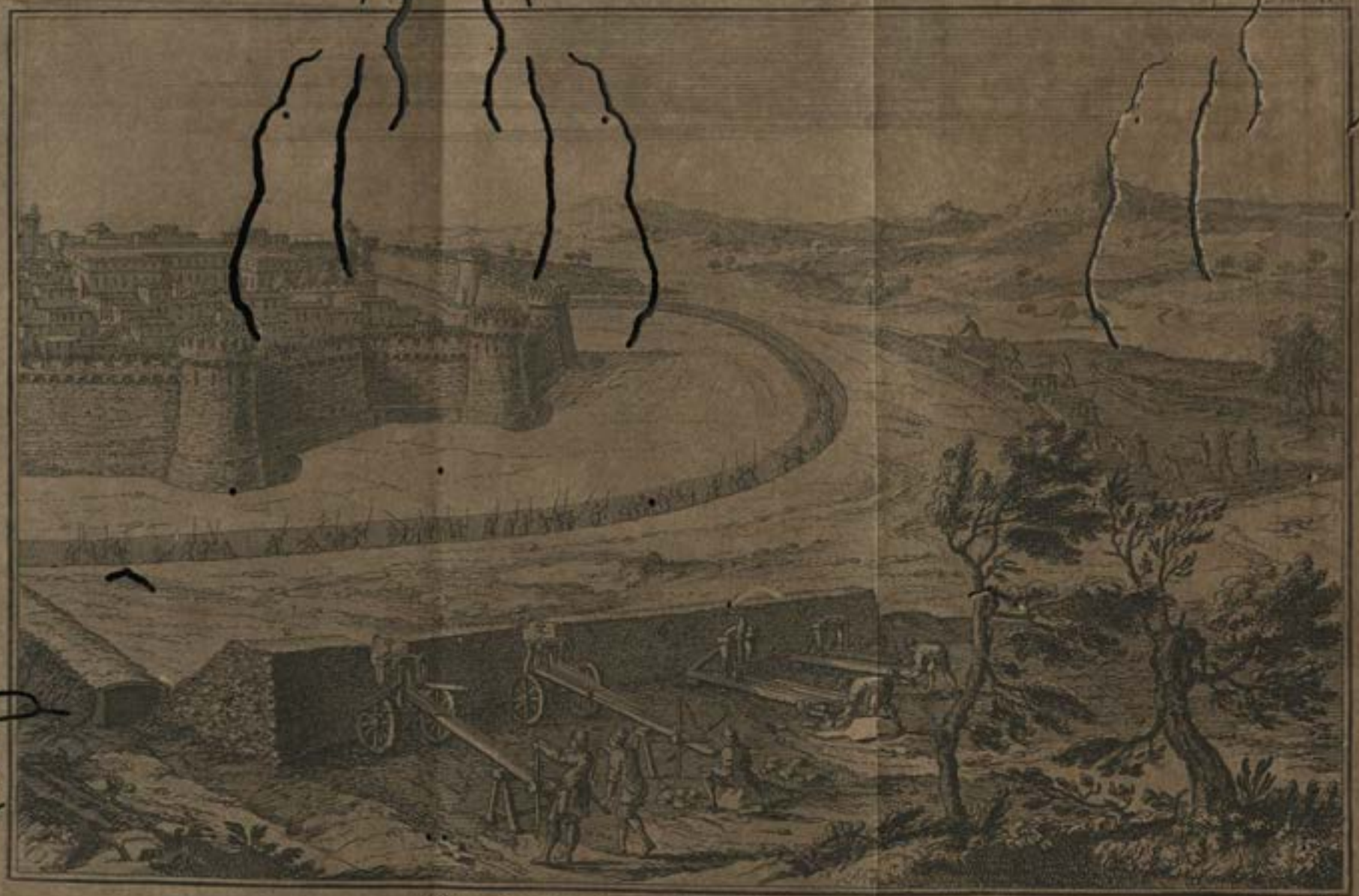
At the two feet below the trigger is the roll or windlaſs (11) round which a cord turns with an iron hand or grappling (19) at the end of it. This grappling ſeizes the cord of the arms or bow in the centre to charge the machine. It has two hooks, which are wider from each other than the breadth of the nut, that ought to have an opening in the middle, like that of the croſs-bow, to receive the end of the dart againſt the cord, when ſeized by it.

The upright beams (3) (4), beſides their tenons and mortiſes at the baſe, were ſtrongly propped and ſtayed behind and before. Some authors, and in Vitruvius, give the machine a kind of table (2), upon which the tree (16) is partly ſupported;

the height of which, with the tree, ought to be exactly equal with that of the cord (12). This table is ſuppoſed to have been intended only to ſupport the tree (16), which muſt have been a very large beam of ſixteen diameters, and two feet in length, and of a breadth and thickneſs in proportion to the ſize of the dart it diſcharged. It is very natural to be of this opinion, if we conſider the vaſt force neceſſary in charging this machine, which was capable of bending the ſtrongeſt beam, if its thickneſs did not exceed its breadth.

As to the powers neceſſary in charging this machine, it is certain that thoſe which carried darts or beams of an extraordinary ſize, beſides ſeveral wheels with teeth, for twiſting the cordage in the capitals, muſt have uſed the roll (18), with ſeveral double-wheeled pullies, and perhaps the windlaſs, for bending the arms, and bringing the cord (12) to the ſtay or nut of the cock or trigger: after this the great dart was laid in the canal cut along the tree (16). Procopius tells us, *De Bell. Goth. c.* 28, that, becauſe feather wings could not be put to theſe arrows, the antients uſed pieces of wood ſix inches thick, which had the ſame effect. Under the name of baliſta, Vitruvius, *lib.* 10. *cap.* 17, gives us the proportions of the capitals of the catapulta, and conſequently of the whole machine, by the weight of the ſtones it diſcharged; how juſtly, the ingenious commentator upon Polybius refers to be examined by better judges. The paſſage is as follows:

" The catapulta that throws a ſtone of two " pounds, ought to have the bores of its capitals " five inches wide. If the ſtone be four pounds, " they muſt be from ſix to ſeven inches: if ten " pounds, eight: if twenty pounds, ten inches " if forty pounds, twelve inches and three quar- " ters: if ſixty pounds, thirteen inches and a half " eight"



Remains of Ballistas and Catapultas.

" eighth: if fourſcore pounds, fifteen inches: if " an hundred and twenty pounds, eighteen inches " and an half: if an hundred and ſixty pounds, " two feet five inches: if two hundred pounds, " two feet ſix inches: if two hundred and ten " pounds, two feet ſeven inches: if two hundred " and fifty pounds, two feet eleven inches and an " half."

PLATE XIX. explained.

Batteries of baliſta's and catapulta's.

MR. Follard proves the batteries in this plate to be of the form of thoſe of the antients from a part of Trajan's column, a plate of which he has inſerted in his Polybius.

(2) A battery of baliſta's.

(3) The embrazures through which the baliſta's diſcharge.

(4) The breaſtwork or covert for the men that worked the machines; which muſt undoubtedly have been much higher than thoſe of the modern batteries, becauſe the timbers of the baliſta uſed in ſieges were very high. They did not make theſe works ſo thick as we do, and raiſed them higher, proportioning their thickneſs only to their height. Neither is it to be doubted, but that they made them ſometimes of ſmall beams laid acroſs each other at equal diſtances, filling up the ſpaces with earth and turf.

The batteries of catapulta's (5) are not ſo well known, nothing being ſaid of the conſtruction of them in hiſtory; but, if we conſider attentively the manner in which they diſcharged, it muſt be

agreed, that the antients were under the neceſſity of placing them behind ſuch a work as the moderns cover their batteries of mortars with; and that with no addition except in the height, as in thoſe of the baliſta. This is evident to every man's common ſenſe; it being utterly impoſſible to invent any other method for covering theſe machines from the view of the beſieged in uſing them. The upper beam of the catapulta was very high, which made it neceſſary to raiſe the work or covert (6) in proportion.

The ingenious commentator upon Polybius, who treats the baliſta and catapulta with great extent, tells us their force was very near equal to that of artillery. He prefers the uſe of the latter, for many very ſolid reaſons, to that of the mortar; which, he ſays, it would ſoon baniſh from armies, if the ignorance of its effects, and the prejudice of cuſtom, did not oppoſe.

SECT. III.

The ram.

THE uſe of the ram is very antient, and the invention of it aſcribed to different people. It ſeems difficult, and hardly worth the trouble, to diſcover the author of it.

The ram was either ſlung or not ſlung.

The ſwinging ram was compoſed of a large beam of oak, reſembling a ſhip's maſt, of prodigious length and thickneſs, with the end armed with an head of iron proportioned to the body, and in the ſhape of a ram's, from whence it had its name, becauſe it ſtrikes againſt the walls, as a ram doth with his head againſt all he encounters. This ram's bigneſs ſhould be conformable to its length. Vitruvius gives that he mentions four thouſand talents in weight, that is to ſay, four hundred and fourſcore thouſand pounds *, which is not very exorbitant. This terrible machine was ſuſpended and balanced equally, like the beam of a pair of ſcales, with a chain or large cables, which ſupported it in the air in a kind of building of timber, which was puſhed forwards, upon the filling up of the foſſe, to a certain diſtance from the wall, by the means of rollers or wheels. The building was ſecured from being ſet on fire by the beſieged, by ſeveral coverings, with which it was caſed over. This manner of working the ram ſeems the moſt eaſy, and requires no great ſtrength. The heavieſt body ſuſpended in the air may be moved with inconſiderable force.

* *The Roman pound weighed leſs than the French by almoſt a quarter.*

PLATE XX. explained.

Battering ram ſuſpended.

(2) THE [illegible].

(3) The form of its head, according to all the monuments Greek and Roman, made faſt to the enormous beam by four bands, or fillets of iron, of four feet in length. At the extremity of each of theſe bands (4) was a chain (5) of the ſame metal, one end of which was faſtened to an hook (6), and at the other extremity of each of theſe chains was a cable very firmly bound to the laſt link: theſe cables ran the whole length of the beam to the end of the ram (7), where they were all made as faſt together as poſſible with ſmall cordage.

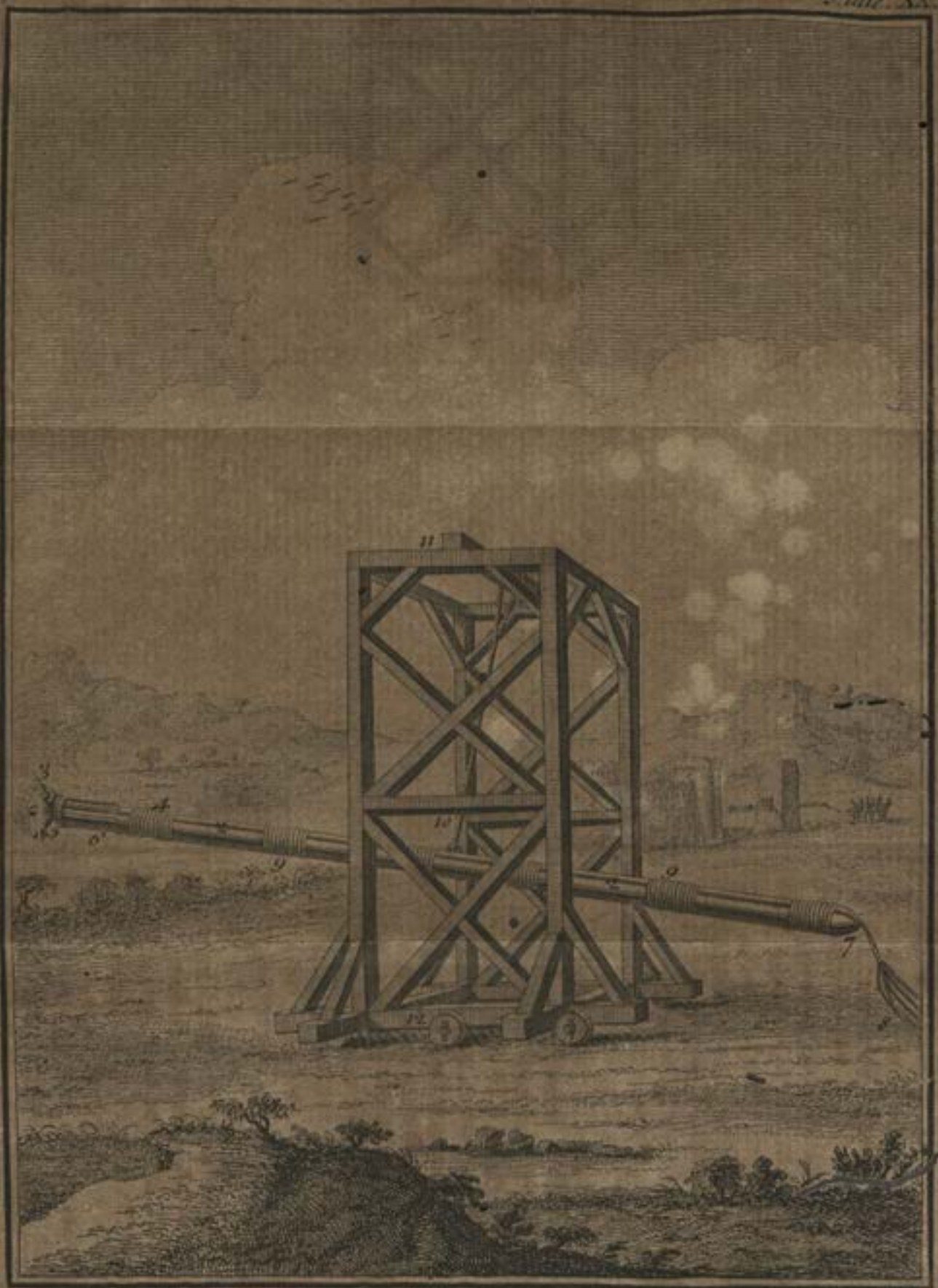
At the end of theſe cables another was affixed, compoſed of ſeveral ſtrong cords platted together to a certain length, and then running ſingle (8). At each of theſe ſeveral men were placed, to balance and work the machine. To ſtrengthen the ram, it was bound with ſtrong cords from two feet to two feet, the whole length of the beam.

The thickneſs of this terrible machine, as Joſephus calls it, was in proportion to its length.

(10) The chains or cables by which it hung to the croſs-beam (11) upon the top of the frame of very ſtrong timbers.

The baſe (12) was not ſuch as Vitruvius and Joſephus repreſent it, ſays Mr. Follard, but an oblong ſquare of thirty or forty feet, and ſometimes more, in length, by more or leſs in breadth, according to the length of the ram.

It was planted, the frame being firſt well [illegible] vered in the manner of the tortoiſe, upon the [illegible] of the foſſe filled up, and was worked by me[illegible]



Battering Ram Suspended.

hind the blinds of the trench next the counterſcarp; the batteries of baliſtas and catapulta's from the ſide of the counterſcarp, the moving towers and cavaliers, all covering the workmen by clearing the works of the beſieged.

But it is not ſo eaſy to comprehend how theſe rams were carried from place to place. For it is not to be imagined, that beams of ſuch immenſe thickneſs and extraordinary length could be found wherever there was occaſion for them; and it is certain that armies never marched without theſe machines. The Chevalier Follard, for want of information in this point from the writers of antiquity, conjectures, that they carried this ram-beam upon a four-wheel carriage of a particular form, compoſed of very ſtrong timbers; the beam ſuſpended ſhort to a ſtrong ſtay or croſs-beam in form of a gibbet (as in Plate XXI.) powerfully ſuſtained by all the wood-work capable of reſiſting the moſt violent ſhocks, and the whole joined and ſtrengthened well with bindings and plates of iron.

PLATE XXI. explained.

Carriage of the battering ram.

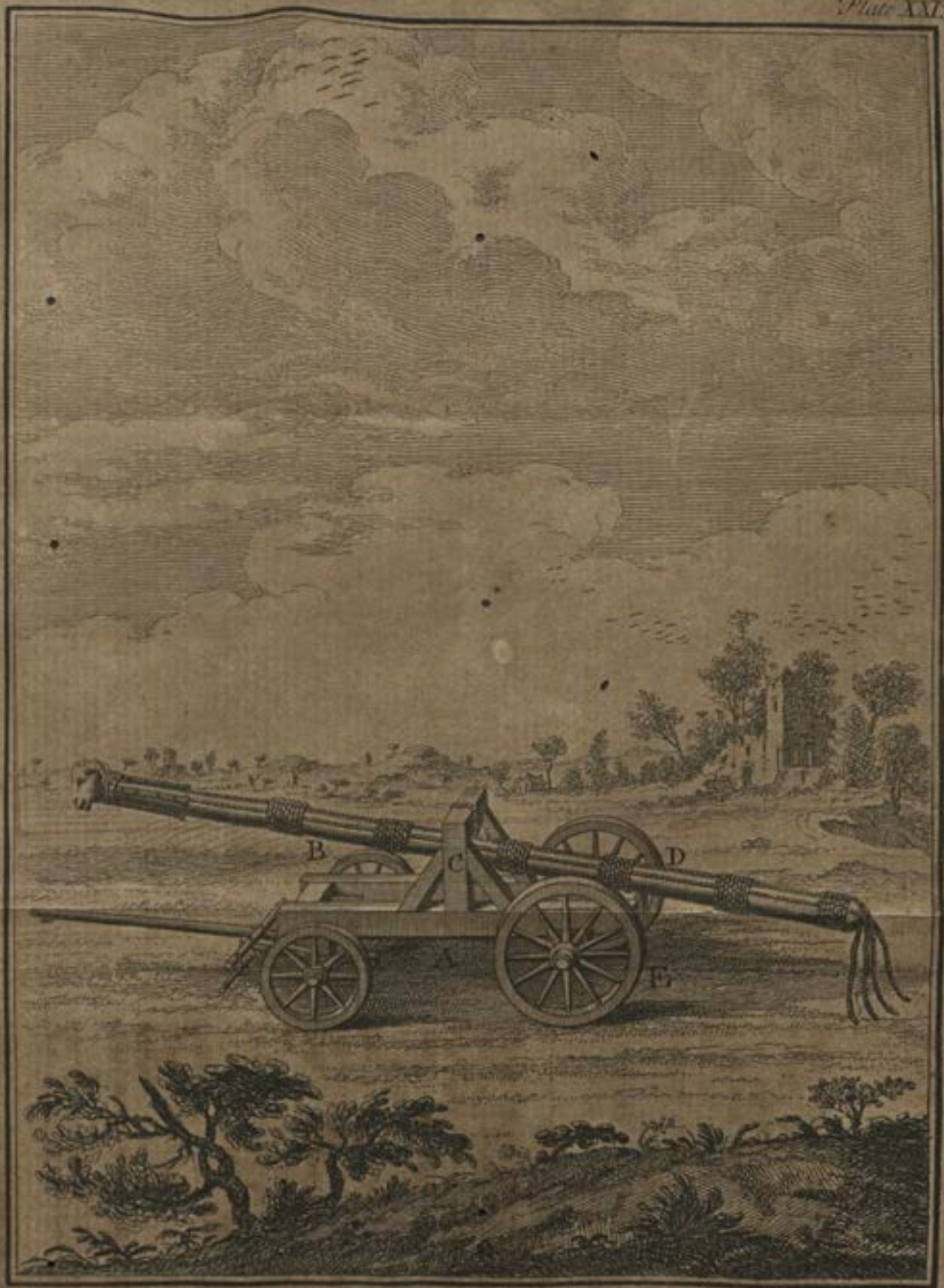
A THE carriage according to Mr. Follard.
B The ram, tied up ſhort to the croſs-beam, laid over two others in the form of a gibbet C.

As it muſt have been very difficult to carry beams of this great length through deep and narrow defiles and hollow ways, it ſeems almoſt impoſſible to have carried them in any other manner than ſlung ſhort to a croſs-beam, as in the plate, in order to their being either raiſed or lowered on the ſides DE, according to occaſion, and the nature of the ways.

The ſame author thinks the figure of this carriage a ſufficient explanation of the manner in which the antients muſt neceſſarily have tranſported theſe machines from place to place; which he ſubmits to the reader's judgment.

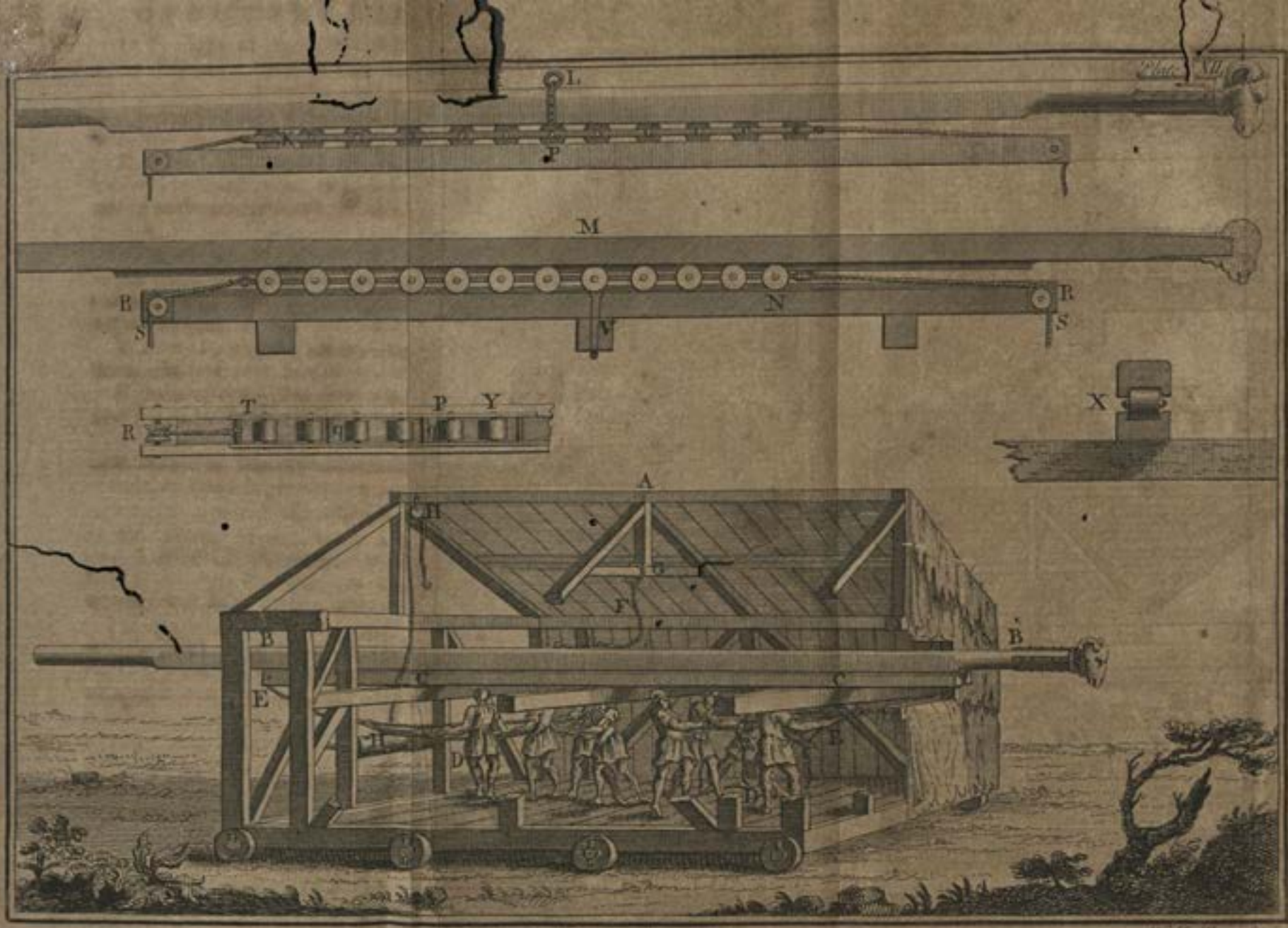
There was another kind of ram which was not ſuſpended or ſlung. We ſee, upon the column of Trajan, the Dacians beſieging ſome Romans in a fortreſs, which they batter with a ram, worked only by ſtrength of arms. They are not covered with any thing, ſo that both the ram, and thoſe who work it, are expoſed to the darts of the beſieged. It could not, in this method of uſing it, produce any great effect.

PLATE



Carriage of the Battering Ram.

W. H. Toms Sculp.



Battering Ram not Suspended.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

PLATE XXII. explained.

Battering ram not ſuſpended.

A TORTOISE for the ram according to the antients *.

B The two ends of the ram out of the tortoiſe, which ran upon a chain of little wheels.

C The chanal or groove cut in the great beam.

D Soldiers working the ram in the tortoiſe by the cordage at each end E.

F Cordage faſtened to the ram and the croſs-beam G, to ſtop the ram, and prevent its quitting its canal or groove in being puſhed backward and forward.

H Roller, with its cordage and pulley at top, for raiſing the ram, and placing it upon its canal.

Powers for moving the ram explained.

I Ram upon its canal and chain of little wheels before quite let down.

L Ring in which the cordage is faſtened that ſtops the ram at a certain proper diſtance.

M Draught of the ram, and its canal or groove N at length.

* *Mr. Rollin ſeems to have been led into a miſtake, in reſpect to this kind of ram, by the plate of it in Mr. Follard's Polybius; in which it was neceſſary to give a view of the inſide of the tortoiſe, to ſhew the manner of working it by the ſoldiers. The very name of tortoiſe, as well as the front, and part of the roof and ſides, covered againſt the machines and fires of the beſieged, ſhew, that it was not* open, *(as he ſuppoſes) but covered like other tortoiſes; otherwiſe, as he obſerves,* it could have been of very ſmall, *or rather of no,* uſe againſt the enemy.

O Draught of the little cylinders, that turn upon their axes, fixed in two bands of iron, each of a ſingle piece P, which are held at due diſtance, and parallel to each other for the moving of the wheels by the croſs-pieces Q.

R Pullies to facilitate the motion of the two cables S faſtened to the two croſs-pieces at the extremities T of the wheels, which put the ram in motion.

V Axis, or pin of iron put in a bore, made in the centre of one of the beams, which ſupport the ram, for turning it, and battering the wall in different places.

X Croſs-view of the wheels between the ram and the groove.

Y Plan of the little cylinder or wheels as fixed by the axis in the iron frames or bands P.

It has been queſtioned whether the rams, fixed in the moving towers, or in a kind of tortoiſe, were ſlung or not; and there are ſtrong reaſons on both ſides. My plan does not admit my entering into this diſpute.

I ſhall preſently relate the prodigious effects of the ram. As it was one of the machines that hurt the beſieged moſt, many methods were contrived to render it uſeleſs. Fire was darted upon the roof that covered, and the timbers that ſupported it, in order to burn them with the ram. To deaden its blows, ſacks of wool were let down againſt the place at which it was levelled. Other machines were oppoſed againſt it to break its force, or to turn aſide its head, when battering the works. Abundance of means were employed to prevent its effects. Some of them may be ſeen in the ſieges

I have

I have cited in the beginning of this paragraph. Joſephus relates a ſurpriſing action of a Jew, who, at the ſiege of Jotaphat, threw a ſtone of an enormous ſize upon the head of the ram with ſuch violence, that he looſened it from the beam, and made it fall down. He leaped afterwards from the top of the wall to the bottom, took the head from the midſt of the enemies, and carried it back with him. He received five arrows in his body, and, notwithſtanding thoſe wounds, boldly kept in his poſt, till, through loſs of blood and ſtrength, he fell from the wall, and the ram's head with him, with which he would never part.

De Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 16.

PLATE

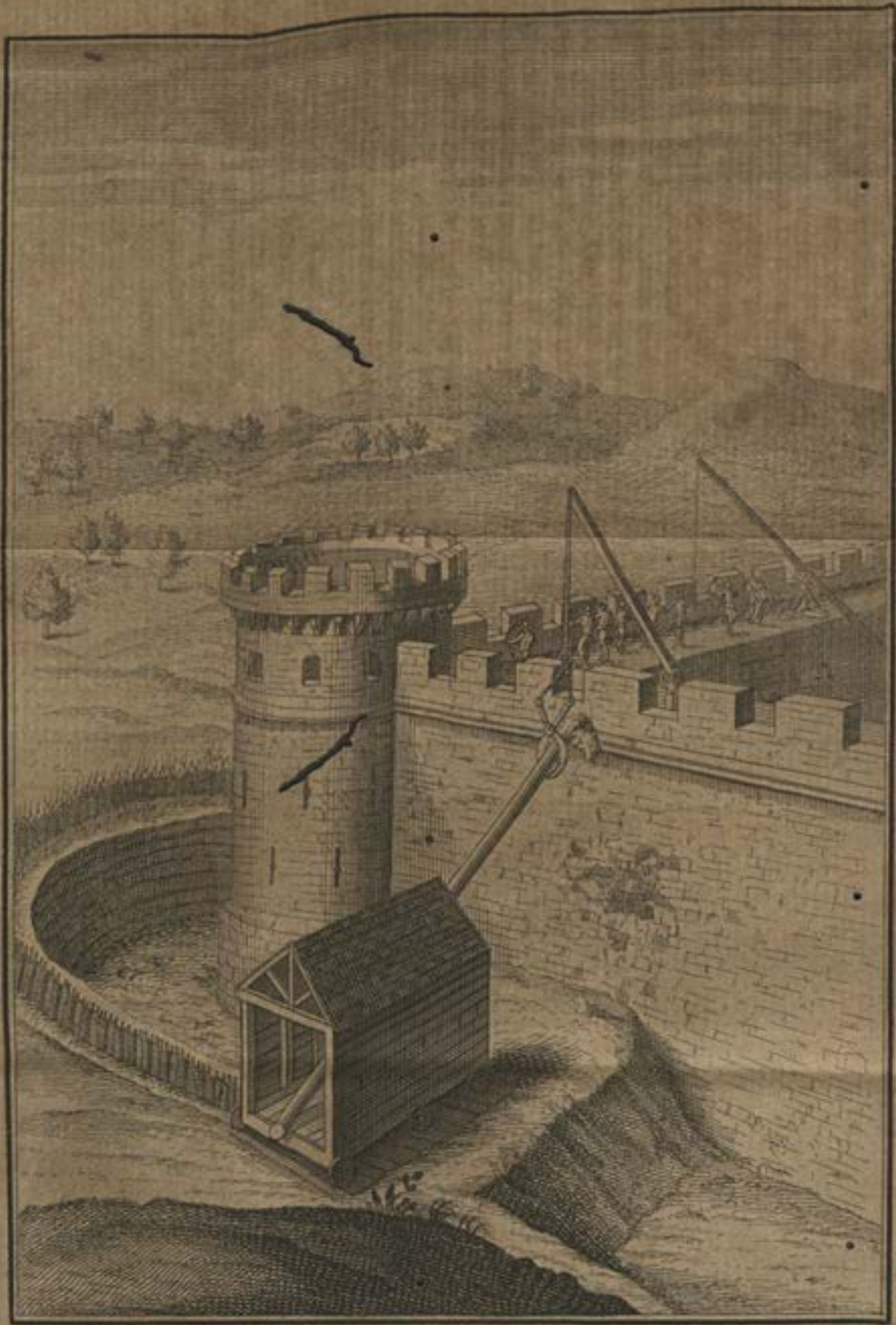
PLATE XXIII. explained.

The corvus *(crow or crane) with nippers for ſeizing the battering ram.*

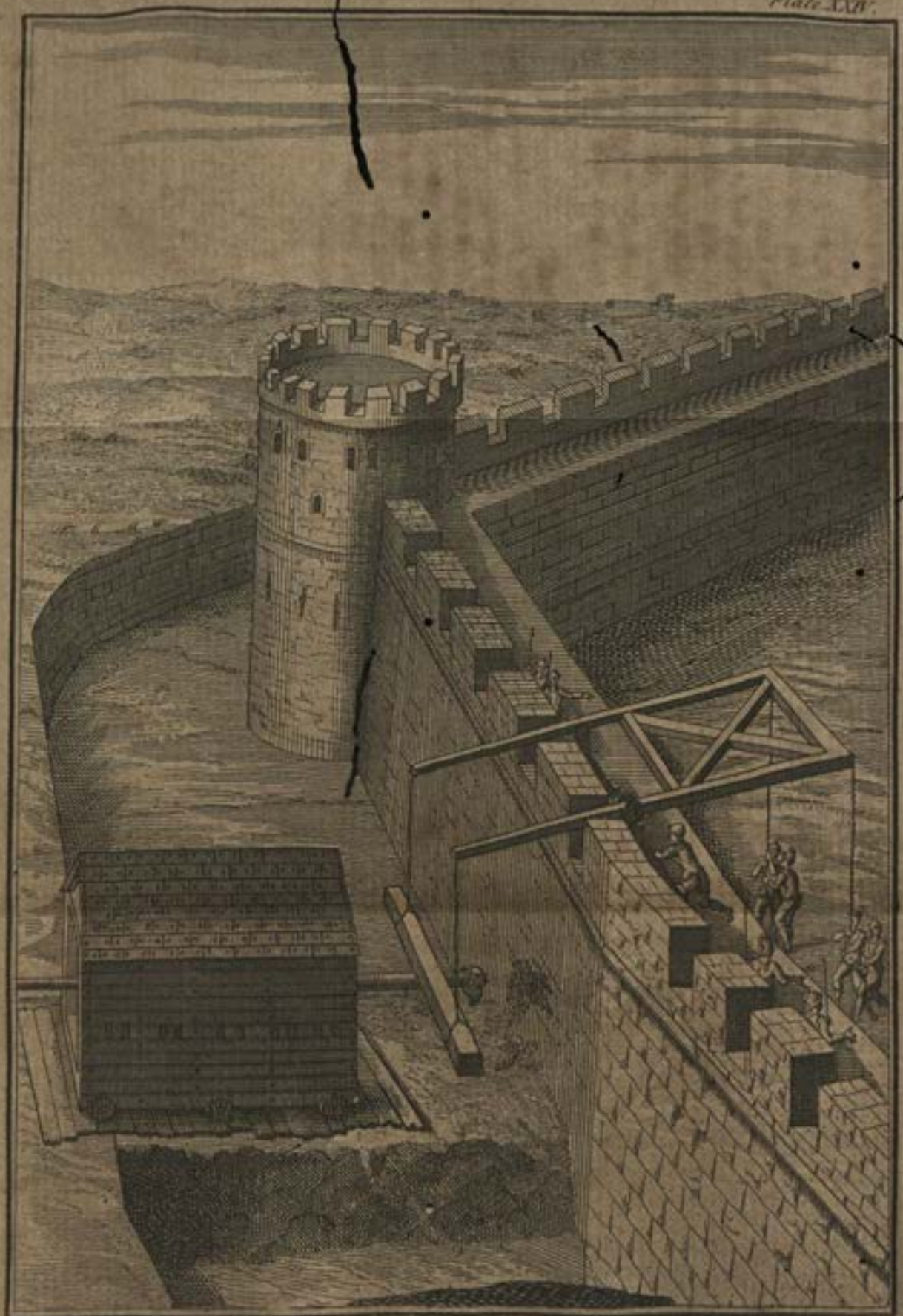
THE antients called many different machines by the name of corvus (crane) the invention of which is aſcribed to ſeveral, and amongſt others to Archimedes; but that opinion is refuted by the teſtimony of authors, ſome of whom aſcribe it to Chariſtion at the ſiege of Samos, two hundred and twenty years before that of Syracuſe. If we may believe Quintus Curtius, neither Archimedes, nor Chariſtion, had any ſhare in this invention, the Tyrians having uſed the ſame machine againſt Alexander the Great, long before either of them came into the world. The ſeveral ſpecies of it are inſerted in this place, and at Chapter III, that treats of the navies of the antients.

The plate repreſents the corvus with nippers or claws, that have teeth, and opened and ſhut like ſciſſars, to ſeize the ram, or any thing, between them. They were uſed in many antient ſieges, and particularly in that of Byzantium by the Emperor Severus. Dion ſays, that the beſieged had *corvi (harpagones)* with iron claws, which carried off whatever they faſtened upon with ſurpriſing velocity. The plate ſufficiently explains the doctrine of the machine, which is of the nature of the balance and lever.

Plate XXIII



Corvus (Crow or Crane) with nippers for seizing ye Battering Ram



Double Corvus for Cranes for breaking the blow of the Battering Ram

PLATE XXIV. explained.

Double corvus (or crane) for breaking the blow of the battering ram.

THIS machine was uſed at the famous ſiege of Platæa. Thucydides ſays: "They made "uſe of this artifice: They faſtened a large beam "by the two ends to long iron chains. Thoſe "chains were at the ends of two long timbers, "that projected over the wall. As the ram was "thruſt forward to batter it, they raiſed the beam "in the air, and then let it fall croſs-wiſe with its "whole weight upon the head of the ram, which "rendered its blow ineffectual."

Lipſius is not in the wrong for reckoning this machine amongſt the corvi or cranes. It was two cranes, as in the plate, with their extremities within the walls. They turned upon their axes on the ſame line, at ſomething leſs than the diſtance of the beam ſuſpended; and broke the blows of the ram, in raiſing up the beam, and letting it fall upon it. There are many examples of this machine to be found in hiſtory.

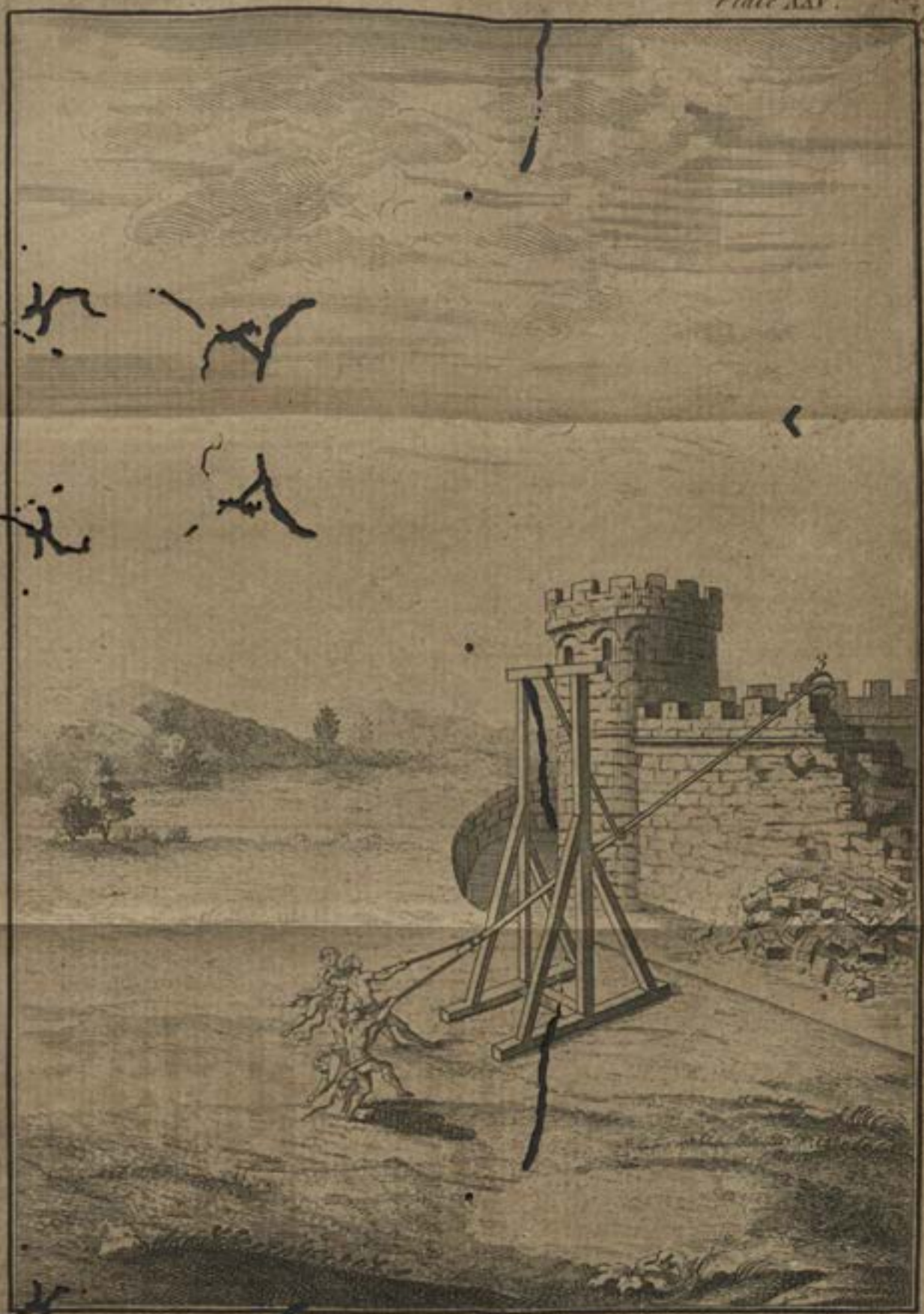
PLATE XXV. explained.

Corvus or crane for demoliſhing walls.

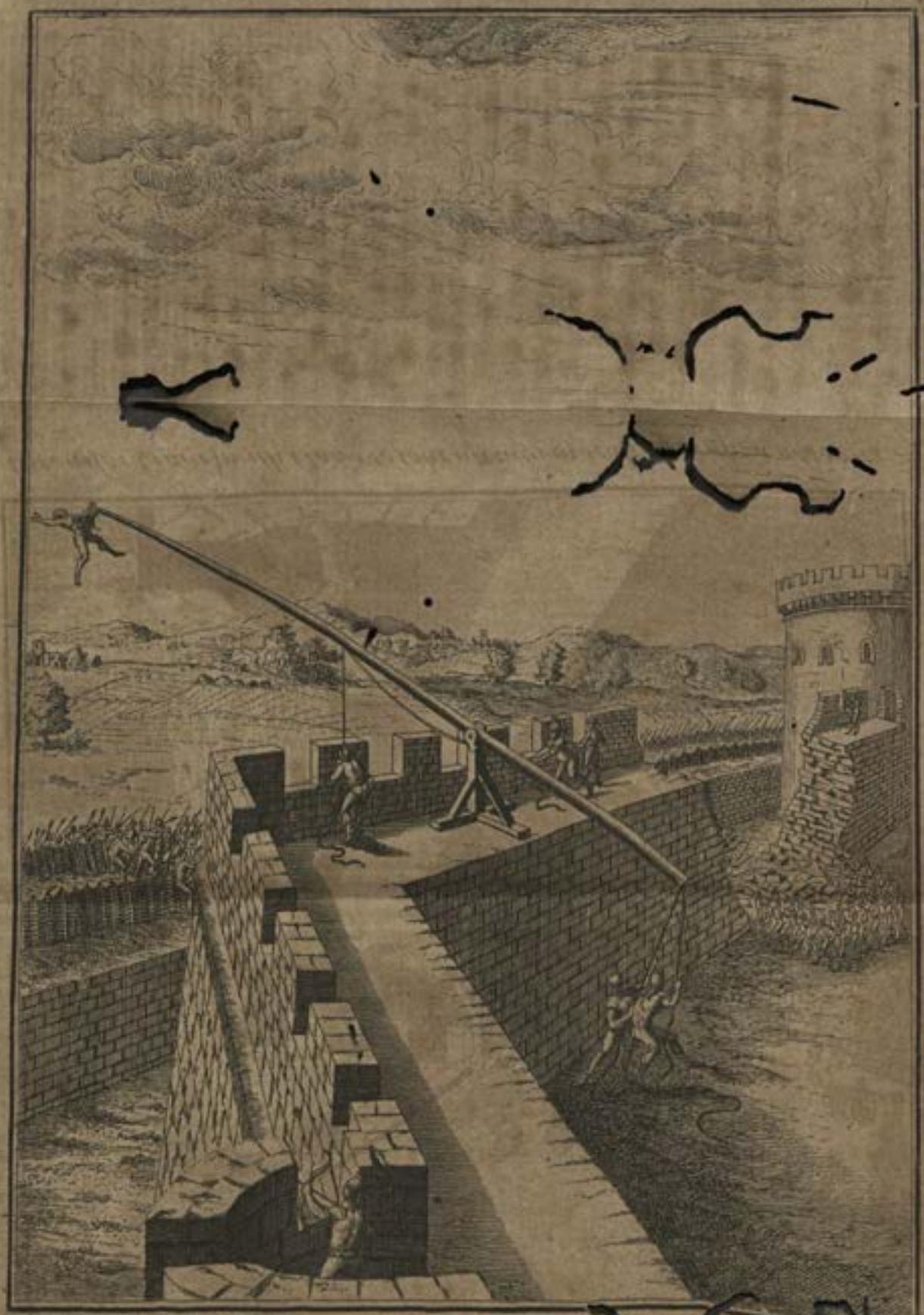
VITRUVIUS ſpeaks of the *demoliſhing corvus* of Diades, which ſeems to be the ſame machine Vegetius calls a tortoiſe. Within this tortoiſe were one or two pieces of wood made round and very long for reaching a great way. At the end (3), they had ſtrong hooks of iron, and were ſlung or ſuſpended upon an equilibrium like the rams. They were applied either to the battlements or the parts of the wall looſened by the ram to pull them down.

Cæſar mentions this machine in his Commentaries, where he ſays, "that the Gauls, beſieged in "Bourges, turned aſide the hooks, with which "the ruins of the works were pulled down, and, "after having ſeized them with their machines, "drew them up to the tops of the walls."

PLATE



Corvus (or Crane) for demolishing Walls.



Corvus for Crane with Claws to take up men in sca[illegible] upon assaults.

PLATE XXVI. explained.

Corvus *(or crane) with claws, to take up men in ſcaling, or upon aſſaults.*

THE machine mentioned by Tacitus in the war of Civilis was a real corvus, the antients having given it that name. The Romans, when attacked in their camp by the army of that rebel, made uſe of all the artifices invented by the antients for the defence of the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified cities. "As the Romans were ſuperior in addreſs "and experience, ſays that author, they oppoſed "the inventions of the enemy with others of their "own, and made a pendent machine, which, being "let down, catched up the aſſailants, and threw "them with a ſudden turn upon the ramparts." Many may imagine this a very myſterious machine, but the plate ſufficiently ſhews that nothing is leſs ſo. Vitruvius is of the ſame opinion, who ſays, *As to the crane for hoiſting up men, I do not think it neceſſary to ſay any thing, being perfectly eaſy to form, and uſually made by the ſoldiers themſelves.* I am ſurpriſed, ſays Mr. Follard, that Tacitus ſhould call ſo known a machine *an invention* in the above-cited paſſage, when Polybius, and all the hiſtorians after him, tell us, that Archimedes uſed it at the ſiege of Syracuſe. After having mentioned the loſſes which the Romans ſuſtained by the great machines of Archimedes, Polybius adds, "without includ-"ing thoſe occaſioned by the iron hooks, which "catched up the troops, and either daſhed them "againſt the ground, or plunged them into the "ſea."

PLATE

PLATE XXVII. explained.

Corvus *(or crane) with a cage, or the tellennon used by the antients for lifting men to the top of works.*

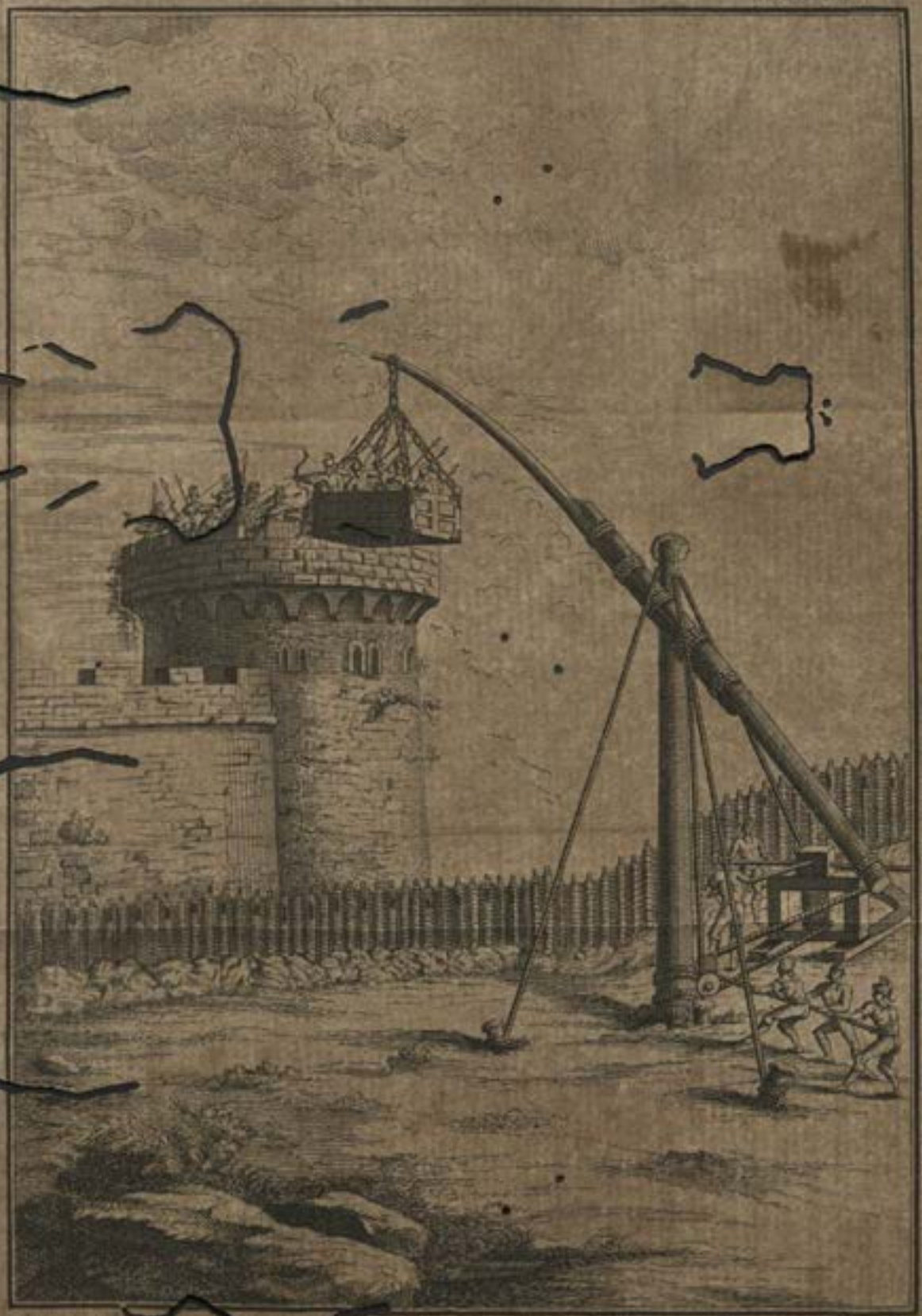
THE tellennon, as Vegetius represents it, is very seldom mentioned in the sieges of the antients. The machine suspended must have been of a square form with a door in the front of it to let down as a bridge for passing to the wall. The tellennon of Vegetius is manifestly such as represented in this plate, which sufficiently explains the nature of it.

The machine, used by Herod to dislodge a great number of robbers who had fled into the caverns of certain rocks and mountains, was of this kind: the passage of Josephus is worthy the reader's curiosity.

"These caverns, says he, were in vast moun-
"tains inaccessible on all sides. There was no ap-
"proaching them but by very narrow winding paths
"on the side of a vast steep rock in the front,
"which extended to the bottom of the valley,
"broken in several places by the impetuosity of tor-
"rents. A situation of such strength surprised
"Herod, who did not know how to put his en-
"terprise in execution. He at length thought of
"a method unknown before. He caused soldiers
"to be let down in square chests of great strength
"to the entrance of the caverns, who killed the
"robbers with their families that were in them,
"and put fire into those where those sculked who
"would not surrender: so that this race of thieves

"were

Plate XXVII.



Corvus (or Crane) with a Cage or the Tellennon used by the Ancients for lifting men to the top of works.

" were ſoon deſtroyed either by the ſword, fire, or " ſmoke." But to return to our tellennon.

It is not to be believed, that this machine was invented for raiſing and throwing men upon the towers and walls of beſieged places; unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a multiplicity of theſe machines might be of great ſervice, when placed near one another: but, as there is no mention of that in any hiſtorian, it is probable that this kind of corvus was intended for diſcovering what the beſieged were doing upon the towers and within the walls, for which purpoſe one man ſufficed as well as four.

SECT. IV.

Moving Towers.

VEGETIUS deſcribes theſe towers in a manner that gives a ſufficiently clear idea of them. The moving towers, ſays that author, are made of an aſſemblage of beams and ſtrong planks, not unlike an houſe. To ſecure them againſt the fires thrown by the beſieged, they are covered with raw hides, or with pieces of cloth made of hair. Their height is in proportion to that of their baſe. They are ſometimes thirty feet ſquare, and ſometimes forty or fifty. They are higher than the walls or even towers of the city. They are ſupported upon ſeveral wheels according to mechanic principles, by the means of which the machine is eaſily made to move, how great ſoever it may be. The town is in great danger, if this tower can approach the walls. For it has ſtairs from one ſtory to another, and includes different methods of attack. At bottom it has a ram to batter the wall, and on

Veget. de re milit. l. 4. c. 17.

the middle ſtory a draw-bridge, made of two beams with rails of baſket-work, which lets down eaſily upon the wall of a city, when within the reach of it. The beſiegers paſs upon this bridge, to make themſelves maſters of the wall. Upon the higher ſtories are ſoldiers armed with partiſans and miſſive weapons, who keep a perpetual diſcharge upon the works. When affairs are in this poſture, a place ſeldom ho'ds out long. For what can they hope who have nothing to confide in but the height of their ramparts, when they ſee others ſuddenly appear which command them?

PLATE XXVIII. explained.

AS the moving towers of the antients were the moſt ſtupendous machines they uſed in war, it was thought proper to give an idea of them, their ſtructure, and the mechanic powers for moving them, in the following ſeven plates and plans of ſome of the moſt extraordinary mentioned in antient hiſtory.

Plan of the baſe of the helepolis of Demetrius ſupported upon wheels with their axis turning upon a pivot.

THIS plan relates to the moving tower in plate XXXI.

A are beams laid croſs each other at the baſe of the tower. They projected three or four feet beyond the lower frame or baſe, to facilitate the moving of the machine, when it arrived near the foſſe of the beſieged place, and the cordage could work

W. H. Toms Sculp.

Plan of the Base of the Helepolis of Demetrius Supported upon wheels & their axis turning upon a pivot.

work no longer: Beſides which, this projection ſerved to cover the wheels againſt the ſhot of the machines, and to prevent it from overturning, in caſe the wheels ſunk in ſome bad way, as it ſometimes happened.

B and C repreſent the pieces of wood for the pivot and frame to receive the axis of the wheel D. Theſe pieces were of a ſolidity proportioned to the weight they ſuſtained: the upper part E was not ſo large as the lower C, in order to its forming a pivot B, that went through the two ſides of the baſe. This is Mr. Perrault's explanation of what Vitruvius call *Amaxapodes*. The ledge F muſt have been very large to ſupport the enormous weight of the tower; and, as the wheel was two cubits or three feet from the axis to the extremity, the pivot and frame B C muſt have been made of three pieces of wood, ſtrongly joined together with great art, and ſtrengthened with bindings of iron G.

The frame of the baſe, therefore, muſt have been compoſed of eight great beams on the four ſides H, to receive the *Amaxapodes* or pivot and frame. The Chevalier Follard ſays, that he does not ſee how this ſort of wheels with their pivots, being ſo few, could move every way without breaking in the mortiſe or hole in which the axle turns: He adds, that he chuſes rather to believe theſe wheels an imagination of Vitruvius.

PLATE XXIX. explained.

Towers with bridges of the emperor Frederic I. *at Jeruſalem.*

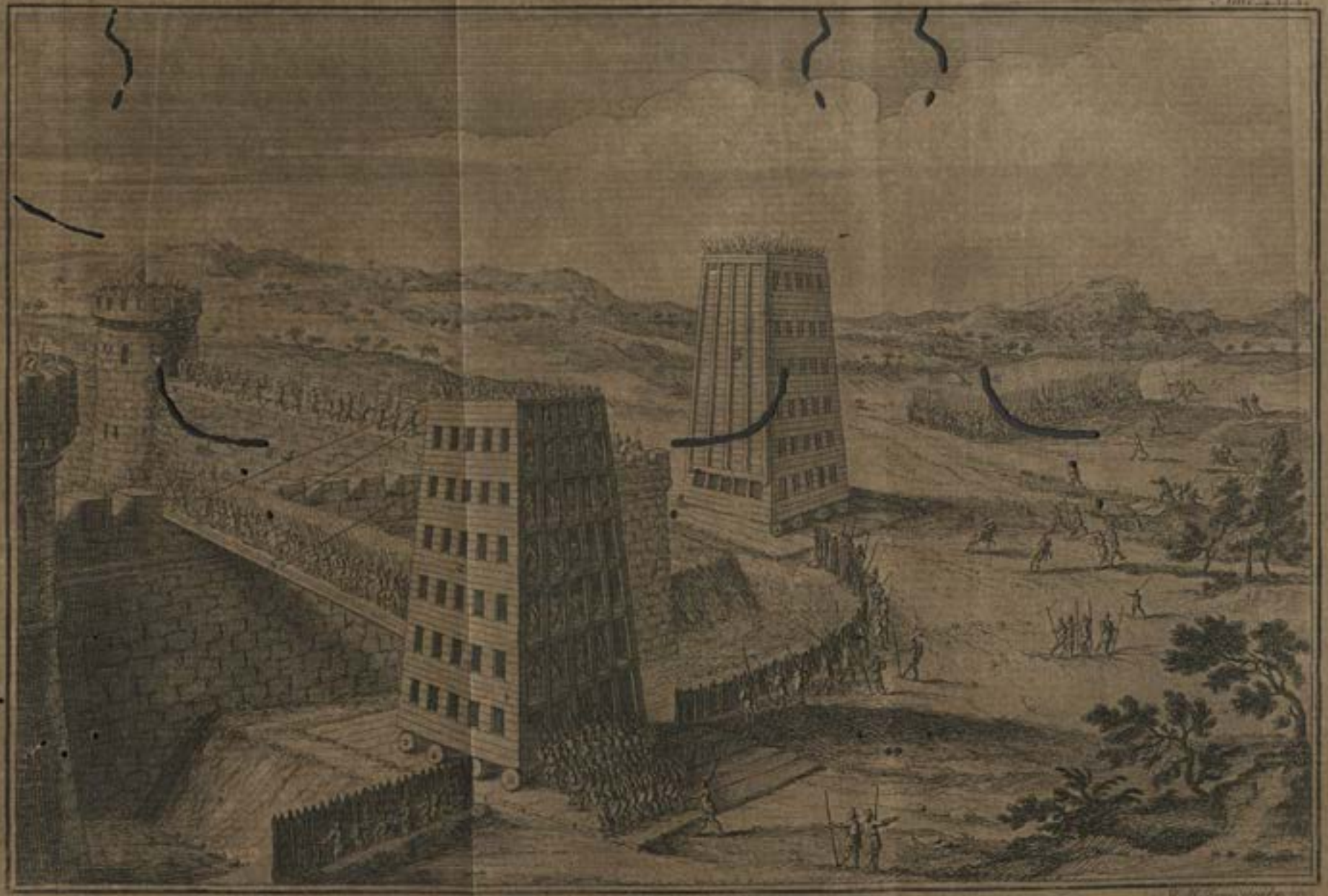
THIS plate repreſents two towers before the walls of the city, each having a bridge (2) compoſed of ſeveral long beams covered with planks, and equal in breadth to the tower, in order to receive a greater front of aſſailants.

(3) Shews the bridge drawn up againſt the tower, beginning at the firſt ſtory, in order to be let down in a parallel line with the top of the wall.

(4) The cables or chains, by which that enormous draw-bridge was let down when at a proper diſtance.

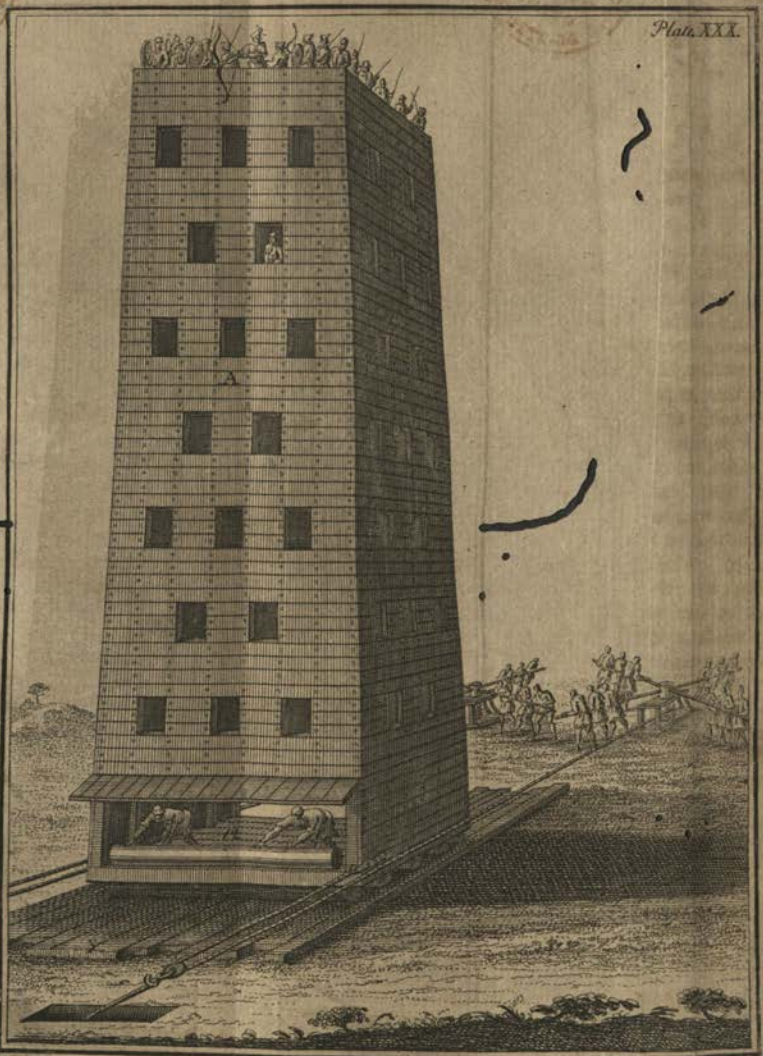
(5) The bridge let down, and the troops paſſing to the wall.

PLATE



Towers with Bridges of the Emperor Frederick I. at Jerusalem.

Plate XXX.



Caesars moving tower at the siege of Namur with the powers for moving it.

PLATE XXX. explained.

Cæſar's moving tower at the ſiege of Namur, with the powers for moving it.

THE people of Namur demanded to capitulate, when they ſaw the prodigious tower A, of which they had made a jeſt, whilſt it was building at a conſiderable diſtance from their walls, move towards them very faſt. "They believed "this a prodigy, ſays Cæſar, and were aſtoniſhed, "that ſuch little people, as we ſeemed to them, "ſhould think of carrying ſo vaſt and heavy a "machine to their walls." It is no wonder they were ſurpriſed, as they had never ſeen nor heard of any ſuch thing, and as this tower ſeemed to advance by inchantment and of itſelf, the mechanic powers that moved it being imperceptible to thoſe of the place. The deputies, whom they ſent to Cæſar, ſaid, that they believed the Romans muſt be aſſiſted by the gods in their wars, who could make machines of ſo enormous a ſize advance ſo ſwiftly to command their walls. *Non ſe exiſtimare Romanos ſine ope deorum bellum gerere, qui ex tantæ altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere, & ex propinquitate pugnare poſſent.*

In the following plate, this tower, and the powers for moving it, are explained at large.

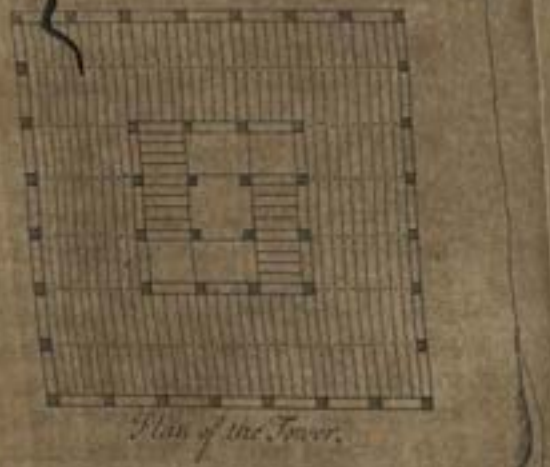
PLATE XXXI. explained.

Helepolis of Demetrius Poliorcetes, at the ſiege of Rhodes, with its two draw-bridges.

THE deſcription of this plate includes that of the laſt.

The machines, like that in the foregoing plate and this, were erected upon cylinders, in the nature of rollers (2), laid a-croſs upon a platform (3), compoſed of flat beams covered with thick planks: when it was to move ſeveral ſmall trenches were cut in the ground (4), diſpoſed in the manner of a quincunx, from three to four feet in length by as many in breadth, parallel to the tower: in each of theſe trenches a large round piece of oak (5) was laid length-ways, ſupported by four ſtrong ſtakes (6), driven obliquely a good depth into the ground, which hindered the croſs-piece (5) from breaking the earth when drawn by the cables (7) that were made as faſt to it as poſſible. Let us imagine the croſs-piece in the ground with four or two ſtakes againſt it, according to the nature of the ſoil, not ſuppoſing that one ſtake, how deep ſoever driven in the earth, could ſuſtain the draught of the cordage, that muſt have inevitably pulled it up; beſides which, the following method is much more ſimple, and more capable of bearing the force of the cords. But as the cables were each of them to draw level with the piece of timber (5), it was neceſſary to make a cut in the earth, of the ſame depth and breadth as the trench (4), in the form of the letter T; without which precaution, the cable in drawing againſt the ſide of the trench (4) would have drawn the croſs-piece (5) out of its place.

In the centre of theſe croſs-pieces ſtrong loops were faſtened, to which pullies with double or treble



Plan of the Tower.

The Helepolis of Demetrius Poliorcetes at the Siege of Rhodes with its two Drawbridges.

treble wheels (9) were hooked, fitted with cables, to which others anſwered (10), that were made faſt in the ſame manner to the beams at the bottom of the tower; each of theſe pullies had hooks at the ends of them, to put on and take off from time to time.

After having fixed theſe pullies to the loops of the croſs-pieces in the trenches and to the towers, with their cables in them, they were let looſe, and not ſtrained, till each of the cables were made faſt to the ſame number of windlaſſes or capſtanes (11), which were more or leſs according to the magnitude of the machine, ſeveral men turning at each of their arms; but it was neceſſary for them to work the windlaſſes or capſtanes exactly together, that all the cables might have their effect at one and the ſame motion; without this agreement in the moving powers, the machine would have turned ſometimes towards one ſide, and ſometimes towards the other.

It moved forwards upon rollers or cylinders. There were men within (12), and others without, who took away the roller, as the tower left it behind in advancing; thoſe within puſhed the rollers before the tower, as faſt as it quitted them behind; ſo that it continually went on upon the ſame number of rollers. When the tower came near the croſs-beams in the trenches, they unhooked the pullies from the loops, and carried them with the cables to other trenches, cut at the ſame diſtance as the former; there they hooked the pullies on again as at firſt, after having brought forwards the windlaſſes or capſtanes to the proper diſtance: and this was repeated, till the tower arrived on the ſide of the foſſe of the place beſieged, without any danger to the workmen, or the enemy's perceiving the powers that moved the machine, the windlaſſes, &c. being behind it: for when they approached

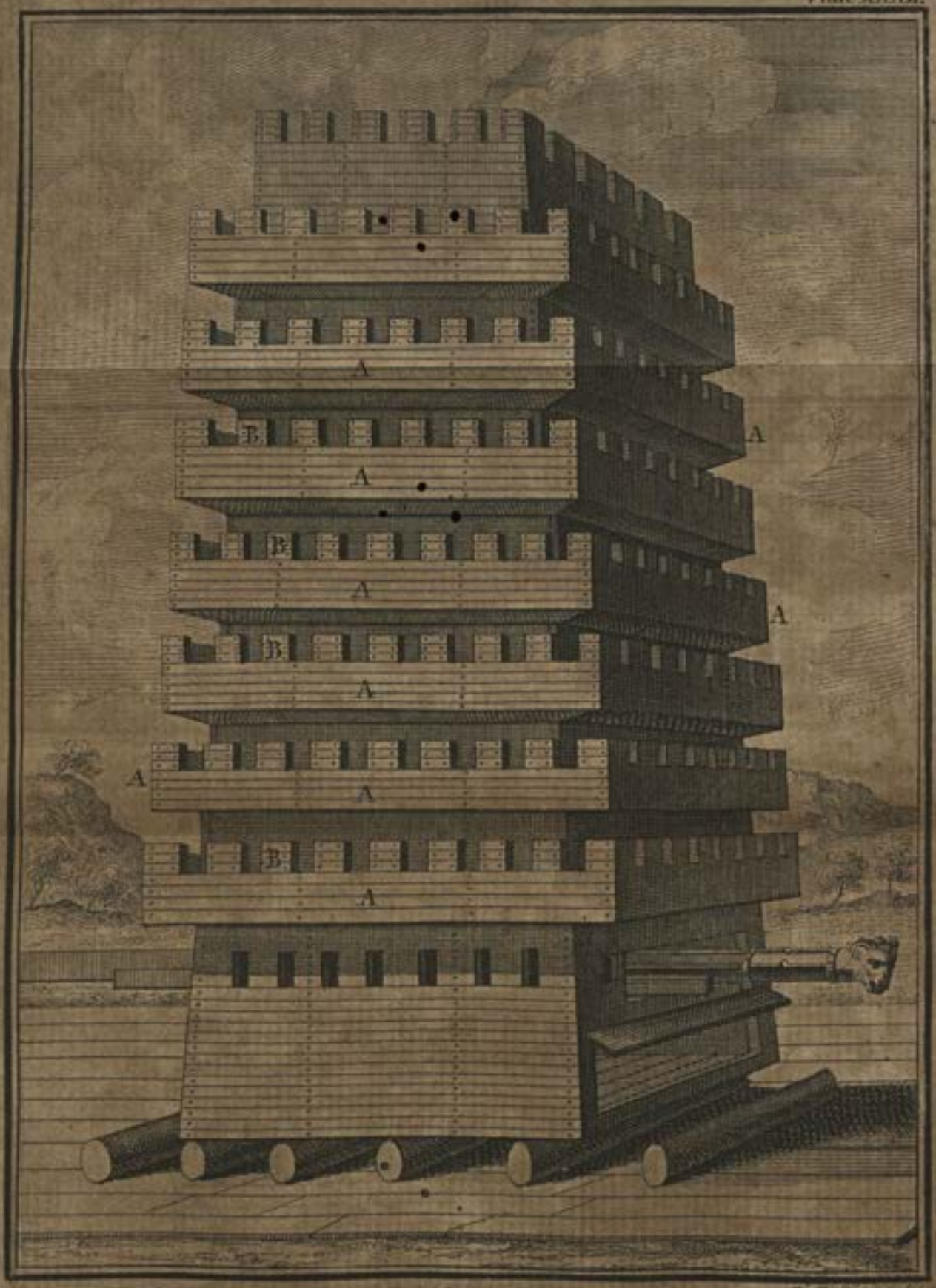
the walls, thoſe who turned them worked under cover, and behind the hurdles or fence-work of the lines of approach.

Theſe the Chevalier Follard conjectures to have been the mechanic principles for moving great towers; which, he adds, do not only ſeem very ſimple, but argue the *tanta celeritate* of Cæſar. The pent-houſe (13) that moved up and down at the diſcretion of thoſe within, was to cover the men in bringing forward the rollers to the front of the tower: it is left open purpoſely in the plate to ſhew their manner of working within the machine.

He continues, that it is his opinion the ſame mechanic powers were as likely to be uſed in moving ſmall towers as great ones: though it is poſſible, that the latter had wheels (16), with this difference, that a greater force was required for making them go forwards, and conſequently, that the cables ſhould go under the machine, as in the helepolis with wheels. Though Diodorus pretends that this laſt machine went upon eight wheels, I have given it ſixteen, becauſe to me it ſeems impoſſible for it to move upon eight; and I have placed its two bridges (18) at the middle ſtory, which it is not improbable were let down and drawn up by cap-ſtanes.

Had the rollers, upon which theſe towers moved, been turned by levers, the ſame learned commentator upon Polybius ſays they could not have made two yards a day, which he proves by the example of Vitiges, the Goth, at the ſiege of Rome, defended by Beliſarius, as related by Procopius.

PLATE



Tower with corriders or Galleries & a Ram not Suspended.

PLATE XXXII. explained.

Tower with corridors or galleries, and a ram not ſuſpended.

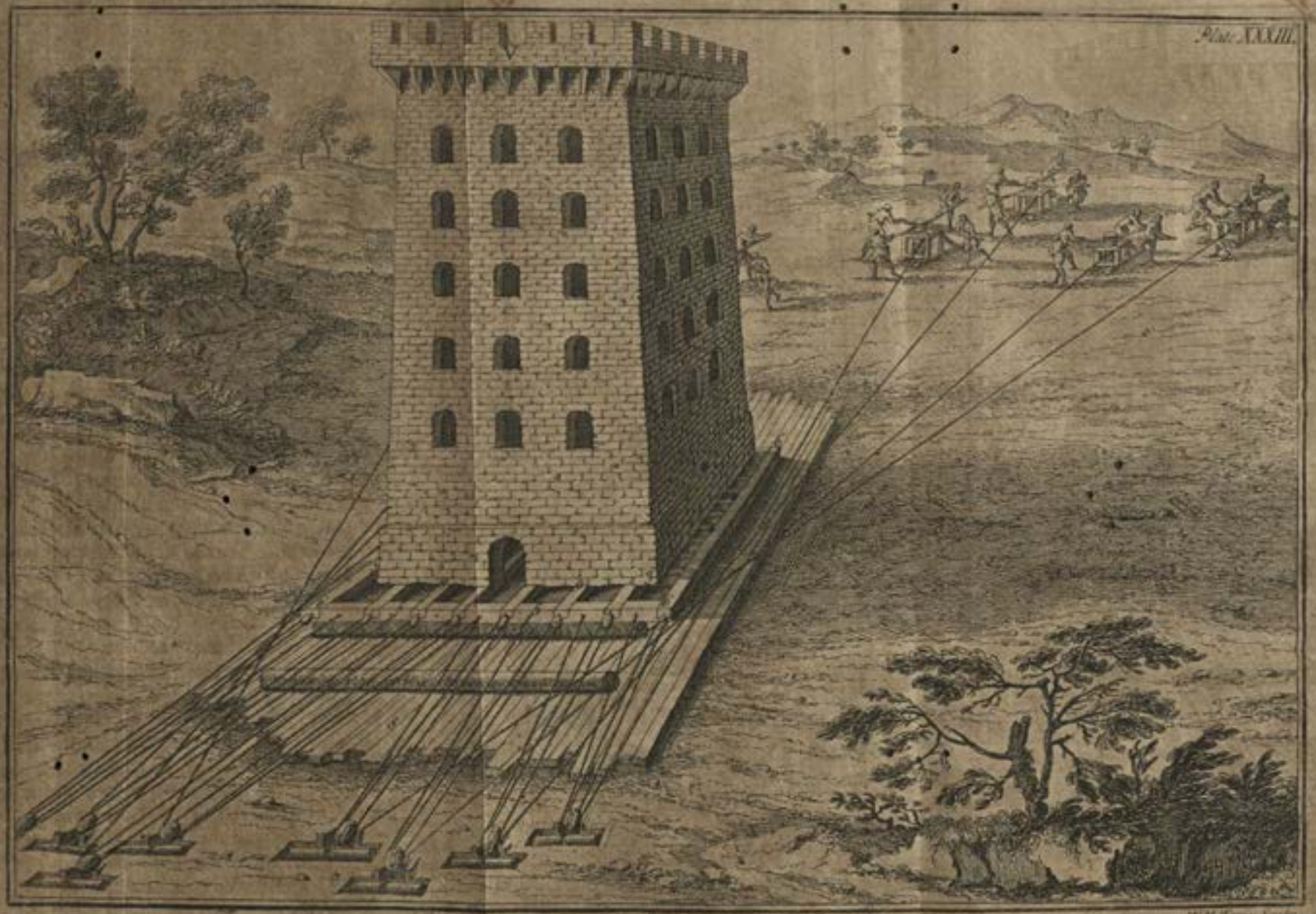
THE corridors or galleries (A) that ſurround this tower at each ſtory, were intended to prevent its being ſet on fire; and, indeed, nothing could have been better invented for that purpoſe, thoſe galleries being full of troops, armed with miſſive weapons, who made their diſcharges from behind the kind of parapets or battlements (B), and were always ready to pull out the darts of fire, and extinguiſh all other combuſtibles thrown againſt the tower; ſo that it was impoſſible for the fire to make the leaſt progreſs, the remedy being always at hand. Theſe corridors were built upon beams that projected five or ſix feet beyond the tower; ſeveral of which kind are ſtill to be ſeen upon Trajan's column.

PLATE

PLATE XXXIII. explained.

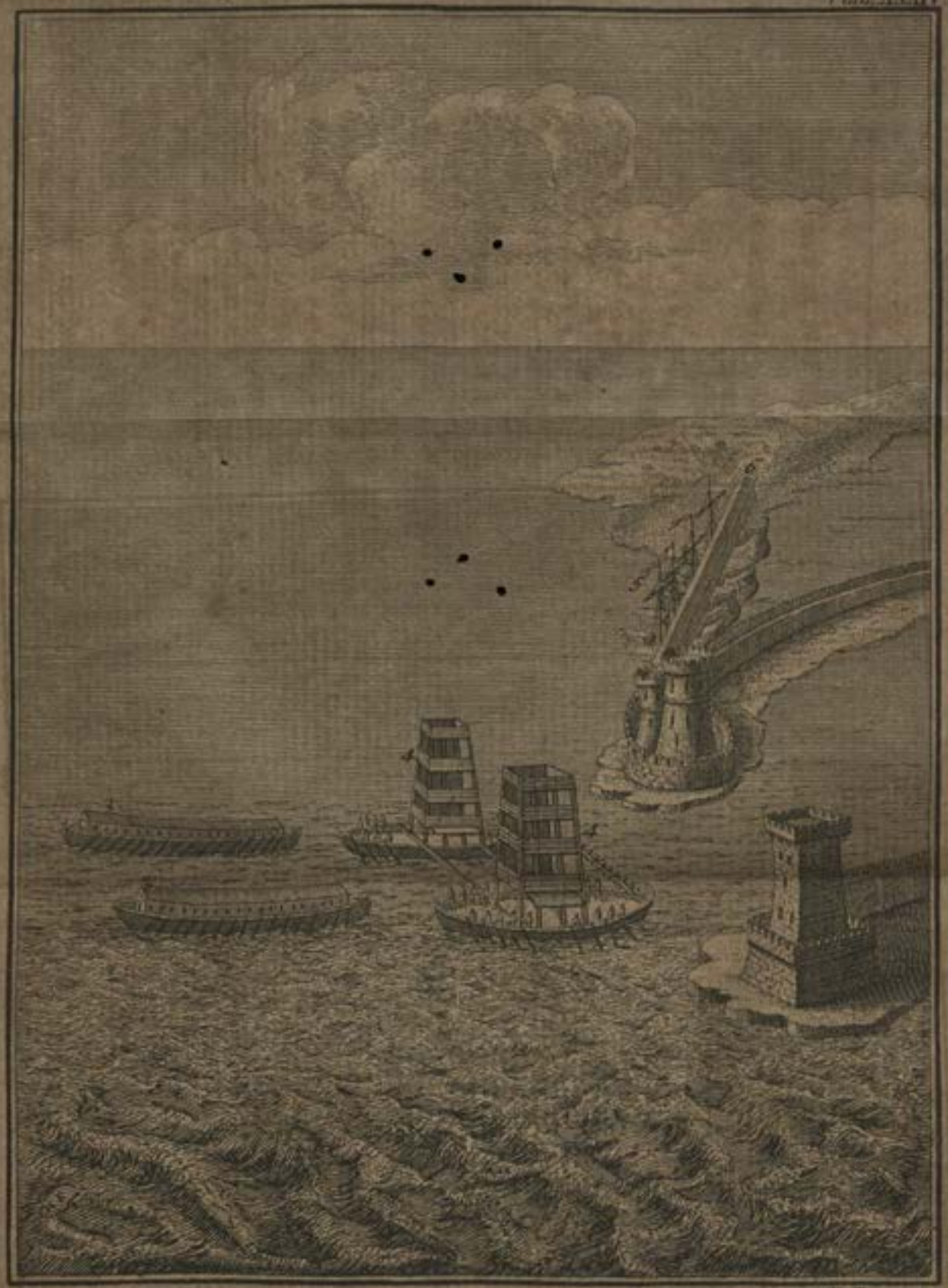
Tower of ſtone moved from one place to another by an architect of Boulogne.

IT is ſuppoſed, that this architect muſt have taken the following method for removing this tower. He began by making cuts in it at the bottom, level with the ground on all ſides, and exactly facing one another. Theſe cuts were wide enough to receive ſeveral large ſquare beams, prepared beforehand to form a double frame, and ſerve as a baſe to the tower; theſe beams thus laid, and projecting ſix feet on each ſide of the baſe of the tower, other croſs-beams were carried through the cuts in the other ſides (3), and laid chequer-wiſe as a ſquare baſe (5). All theſe beams were inſerted, at the ends, into four other beams (6) with tenons and mortiſes, and into each other by cuts hewed in them, at which they were made firm by tenons. This double frame, upon which the tower was to move, and which ſerved it as a baſe, ſhould have projected five or ſix feet beyond the tower. All this being done in the ſtrongeſt and moſt exact manner, the whole was raiſed on the four ſides with levers, and long cylindrical beams or rollers (7), all equal in their diameters, put under. A platform was then laid of beams covered with ſtrong planks, and the parts of the wall, that ſtill ſupported the tower in the ſpaces between the beams of the baſe, were ſapped and taken away as level with the reſt of the bottom as poſſible: theſe parts of the wall thus ſapped and removed all at the ſame time, the tower being fixed on the baſe of the beams, and thoſe on the rollers, nothing remained but



Tower of Stone moved from one place to another by an Architect of Boulogne.

W. H. Toms Sculp.



W.H. Toms Sculp.

Floating Towers & Galleries of Demetrius at the Siege of Rhodes.

but to ſet it in motion by the ſame mechanic powers as are deſcribed in moving the helepolis, increaſing the number of pullies and windlaſſes to the force neceſſary, and adding a greater number of rollers than it had at firſt.

PLATE XXXIV. explained.

Floating towers and galleries of Demetrius at the ſiege of Rhodes.

DEMETRIUS cauſed two tortoiſes to be built upon flat-bottomed veſſels, for approaching the nearer to the places he had occaſion to batter. Thoſe machines may be called *Floating Tortoiſes* (2), the one to cover his troops againſt the enormous weight, thrown by the beſieged from the tops of their walls and towers, or diſcharged by the catapulta's planted at the bottom of them. The other (3) was covered at top with timber-work of ſomething leſs ſolidity than the firſt, and was intended to ſhelter the troops againſt the arrows and darts diſcharged by the baliſta's. Theſe two tortoiſes were in a line, and at ſome diſtance from each other. There were alſo two veſſels or *prahms* in the front of the tortoiſes or galleries, upon which two towers with battering rams (4) were erected, each of four ſtories, and higher than thoſe that defended the entrance of the port. Theſe floating towers were intended to batter thoſe of the port, whilſt the troops from the ſeveral ſtories diſcharged perpetually on the enemy that appeared on the walls.

As theſe four floating machines were intended, at leaſt thoſe with the rams, to batter the two towers that defended the entrance of the port, and Demetrius

metrius was in hopes of carrying the place by the port, which could not be taken but by attacking the two branches of the mole, on the ſide next the main, at the ſame time, with a great body of troops well provided for that ſervice, he at laſt thought of this, as the moſt happy method that could be imagined.

He commanded a number of his leaſt, but ſtrongeſt ſhips (5) to be drawn up in a line, on the ſides of the mole, at a certain diſtance from each other; over theſe he built a covered gallery (6), with doors along the ſides of it for going in and out. Within this gallery he poſted a great body of ſoldiers and archers, that could be immediately reinforced from his other ſhips, as the occaſions in attacking the mole ſhould require.

Notwithſtanding many ſurpriſing inventions of the ſame nature, the Rhodians obliged him to raiſe the ſiege, after he had been a year before the place.

See the hiſtory of this ſiege Vol. VIII. of this work.

ARTICLE III.

Attack and defence of places.

I Join the attack and defence of places together, in order to abridge this ſubject, which of itſelf is very extenſive: I ſhall even treat only on the moſt eſſential parts of it, and that in as brief a manner as poſſible.

SECT. I.

Lines of circumvallation and countervallation.

WHEN the cities were extremely ſtrong and populous, they were ſurrounded with a foſſe and intrenchment againſt the beſieged, and by another foſſe on the ſide next the country againſt the troops, which might come to the aid of the place; and theſe were called lines of circumvallation and countervallation. The beſiegers pitched their camp between theſe two lines. Thoſe of countervallation were againſt the beſieged city, the others againſt attempts from without.

When it was foreſeen that the ſiege would be of long duration, it was often changed into a blockade, and then the two lines in queſtion were ſolid walls of ſtrong maſonry, flanked with towers at proper diſtances. There is a very ſenſible example of this at the ſiege of Platæa by the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, of which Thucydides has left us a long deſcription: "The two ſurrounding "lines were compoſed of two walls ſixteen feet "diſtant, and the ſoldiers lay in that ſpace, which "was divided into quarters: ſo that it might "have been taken for only one wall, with high Thucyd. l. 2. p. 147. &c.

"towers

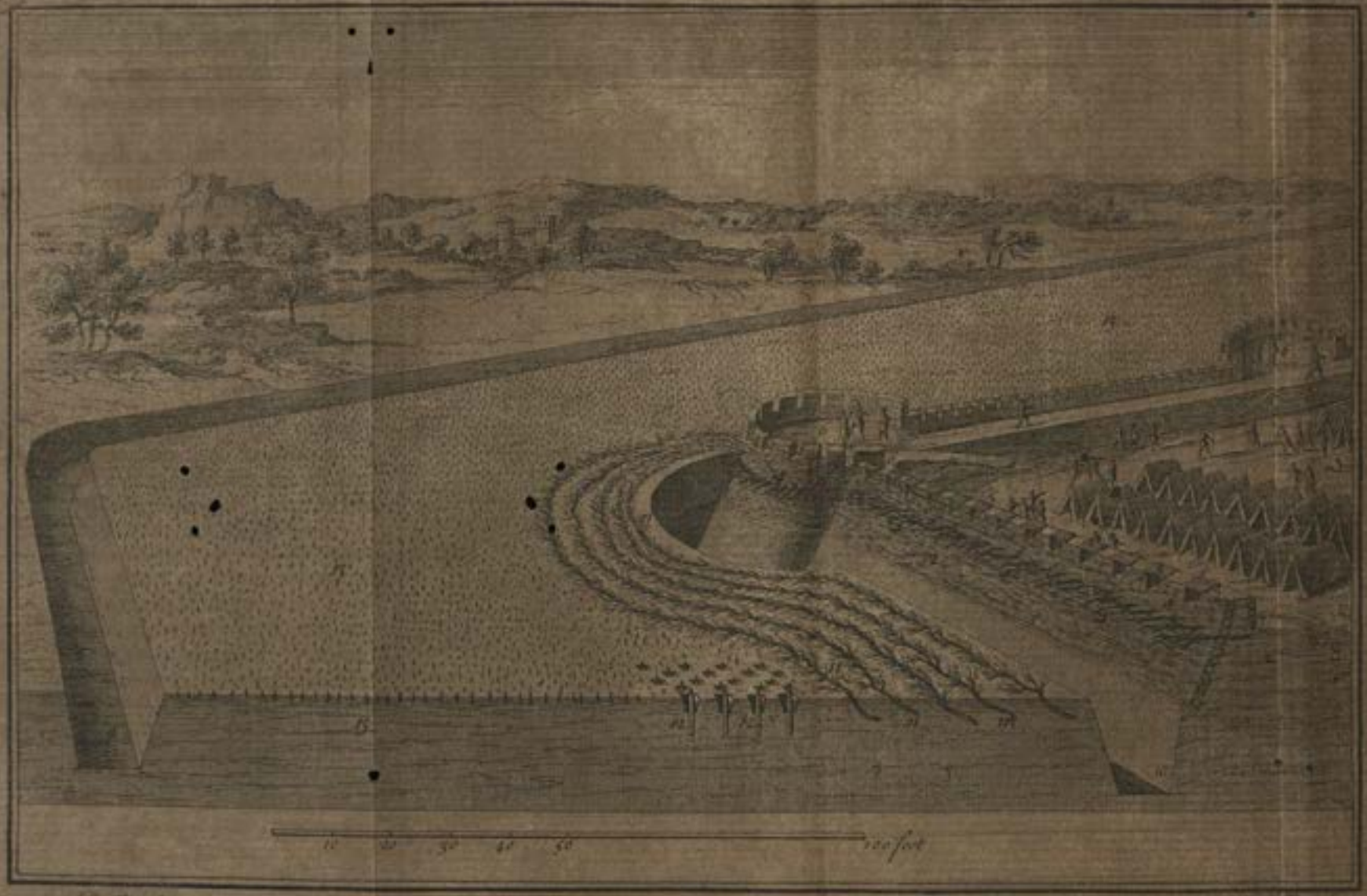
" towers from diſtance to diſtance, which occupied " the whole interval, in order to inable the be- " ſiegers to defend at the ſame time againſt thoſe " within and thoſe without. The quarters of the " ſoldiers could not be gone round without croſ- " ſing the towers of the wall, and the top of the " wall was ſkirted with a parapet of oſier. There " was a foſſe, on each ſide of which, the earth had " been uſed to make bricks for the wall." In this manner Thucydides deſcribes theſe two ſurrounding walls, which were of no very great circumference, the city being very ſmall. I have elſewhere related, with ſufficient extent, the hiſtory of this ſiege, or rather blockade, very famous amongſt the antients; and have obſerved in what manner, notwithſtanding theſe fortifications, part of the garriſon eſcaped.

Vol. III. Book VI. Chap. V.

Appian. in Iberic. p. 306.

The camp of the Roman army before Numantia took up a much greater extent of ground. That city was four and twenty ſtadia in circumference, that is to ſay, a league. Scipio, when he inveſted it, cauſed a line of circumvallation to be drawn, which incloſed more than twice the ground the city ſtood upon. When this work was finiſhed, another line was thrown up againſt the beſieged, at a reaſonable diſtance from the firſt, compoſed of a rampart of eight feet thick by ten high, which was ſtrengthened with ſtrong paliſades. The whole was flanked with towers of an hundred feet from each other. It is not eaſy to comprehend in what manner the Romans compleated theſe immenſe works; a line of circumvallation of more than two leagues in compaſs: but nothing is more certain than theſe facts. Let us now advance towards the place.

PLATE



Profile of part of the Circumvallation with its fosse and advanced fosse of Cæsars Camp before Alexia.

PLATE XXXV. explained.

Profile of part of the circumvallation with its foſſe, and advanced foſſe of Cæſar's camp before Alexia.

THE work (2) was formed of faſcines inſtead of turf, with its parapet (3), and fraiſe (4), made of large ſtakes, with their branches cut in points, and burnt at the ends like a ſtag's horns; they ſeemed like wings at the foot of the parapet, or like the oars of a galley inclining downwards. Of the ſame nature are the fraiſes of the moderns, that are far from being ſo well imagined, and are ſmooth-pointed paliſades bending downwards to prevent ſcaling. The moderns fix them in the ſame manner at the bottom of the parapet, where they form a kind of cincture very agreeable to the eye. The battlements, mentioned by Cæſar, were like the modern embraſures for cannon (5); here the archers were placed. Upon the parapet of the towers (6), field baliſta's were planted to flank the works. Theſe towers were not always of wood, but ſometimes of earth covered with turf, or ſtrengthened with faſcines. They were much higher than the reſt of the intrenchment, and ſometimes had towers of wood raiſed upon them, for battering the places that commanded the camp.

Some authors have believed that theſe intrenchments and works of the antients in the field, like thoſe of maſonry, were perpendicular; but that opinion is very abſurd. Theſe had a platform with its talus or ſlope, and ſometimes banquette's (7) in the form of ſteps for aſcending; beſides which, at the towers, there were ways made (8) to go up. All this was indiſpenſably neceſſary in Cæſar's lines, as they were very high, to prevent the earth from falling away. Thus much for the two lines of circum-

cumvallation. We proceed to the ground incloſed between the two foſſes (9) and (10), which is far the moſt curious part of this celebrated blockade, and will be beſt explained in Cæſar's own words.

" As the ſoldiers were employed at the ſame " time to fetch wood and proviſions from a con- " ſiderable diſtance, and to work at the fortifica- " tions, and the enemy often ſallied at ſeveral " gates to interrupt the work; Cæſar found it ne- " ceſſary to make ſome addition to his lines, that " they might not require ſo many men to guard " them. He therefore took trees of no great " height, or large branches, which he cauſed to " be made ſharp at the ends, and running a trench " of five feet deep before the lines, he ordered " them to be put into it, and made faſt at bottom, " ſo that they could not be pulled up. This " trench was again filled up in ſuch a manner, " that nothing but the branches of the head (11) " appeared, of which the points muſt have run " into thoſe who ſhould have endeavoured to paſs " them: as there were five rows of them (11) in- " terwoven in a manner with each other, they " were unavoidable. In the front of theſe he " cauſed pits of three feet deep to be dug in the " form of the quincunx (12). In theſe pits he " fixed ſtrong ſtakes, burnt and ſharpened at the " top, which roſe only four inches above the le- " vel of the ground, into which they were planted " three feet deeper than the pits, for the ſake of " firmneſs. The pits were covered over with " buſhes to deceive the enemy. There were eight " rows of them, at the diſtance of three feet from " each other. In the front of all he ſowed the " whole ſpace between the pits and the advanced " foſſe (9) with crows feet of an extraordinary " ſize (13), which the ſoldiers called *ſpurs*." The other line, to prevent ſuccours from without, was entirely the ſame with this.

PLAT

Blockade of Platea by a double line of Masonry surrounding it.

PLATE XXXVI. explained.

Blockade of Platæa by a double line of maſonry ſurrounding it.

THIS ſiege is related in the third volume of this hiſtory.

(2) Is the platform or terraſs upon the top and between the two walls, which were ſixteen feet aſunder.

The garriſon of Platæa (7) made uſe of ladders in eſcaping over theſe works, which they applied to the inward wall. After they had got upon the platform (2), and ſeized the two towers (4)(5), they drew up the ladders, and let them down on the other ſide of the outward wall (6), by which they deſcended to the bottom, drawing up in line of battle as faſt as they came down (7); in which manner, by the favour of a dark night, they marched to Athens.

PLATE XXXVII. explained.

Celebrated blockade of Numantia, with its two ſurrounding lines.

(2) THE firſt line of circumvallation next the country.

(3) The other line next the place.

(4) The rampart.

(5) The paliſades in the nature of a fraiſe.

(6) The towers at an hundred feet diſtance from each other.

(7) A bank or mole over a marſh, with a parapet upon it equal to the height of the wall.

(8) The four ports Scipio cauſed to be erected upon the banks of the river Duæra contiguous to the lines.

(9) A Roccado, or chain of floating beams, pierced through croſs-wiſe with long ſtakes pointed with iron, to prevent barks from entering, and divers from getting any intelligence of what was doing in the camp.

SECT.

The celebrated Blockade of Numantia with its two surrounding lines.

SECT. II.

Approach of the camp to the body of the place.

THOUGH trenches, oblique lines, mines, and other the like inventions, ſeem neither often nor clearly expreſſed in authors, we can hardly doubt with reaſon, that they were not in uſe amongſt the Greeks and Romans. Is it probable, that, with the antients, whoſe generals, amongſt their other excellent qualities, had that of taking great care to ſpare the blood and lives of their ſoldiers, approaches were made in beſieging, without any precautions againſt the machines of the beſieged, whoſe ramparts were ſo well provided, and defence ſo bloody? Though there is no mention of this in any of the hiſtorians, who might poſſibly, in the deſcription of ſieges, omit this circumſtance, as well known to all the world; we ſhould not conclude, that ſuch able generals either did not know, or neglected, things, on the one ſide ſo important, and on the other ſo eaſy; and which muſt naturally have entered the thoughts of every man ever ſo little verſed in attacking places. But ſeveral hiſtorians ſpeak of them; of which one ſhall ſerve for all the reſt: this is Polybius, where he relates the ſiege of the city of Echinna by Philip. He concludes the deſcription of it with theſe words: *To cover from the arrows of the beſieged, as well thoſe who went from the camp to the works, as thoſe who returned from the works to the camp, trenches were drawn * from the camp to the tortoiſes; and thoſe trenches covered at top.* Polyb. l. 9. p. 571.

* Σεφιγγες κατάστεγοι. *Suidas underſtands, by* σύριγξ, *a long trench:* ἐπιμήκης διώρυξ, foſſa longa. Longus cuniculus, & meatus ſubterraneus.

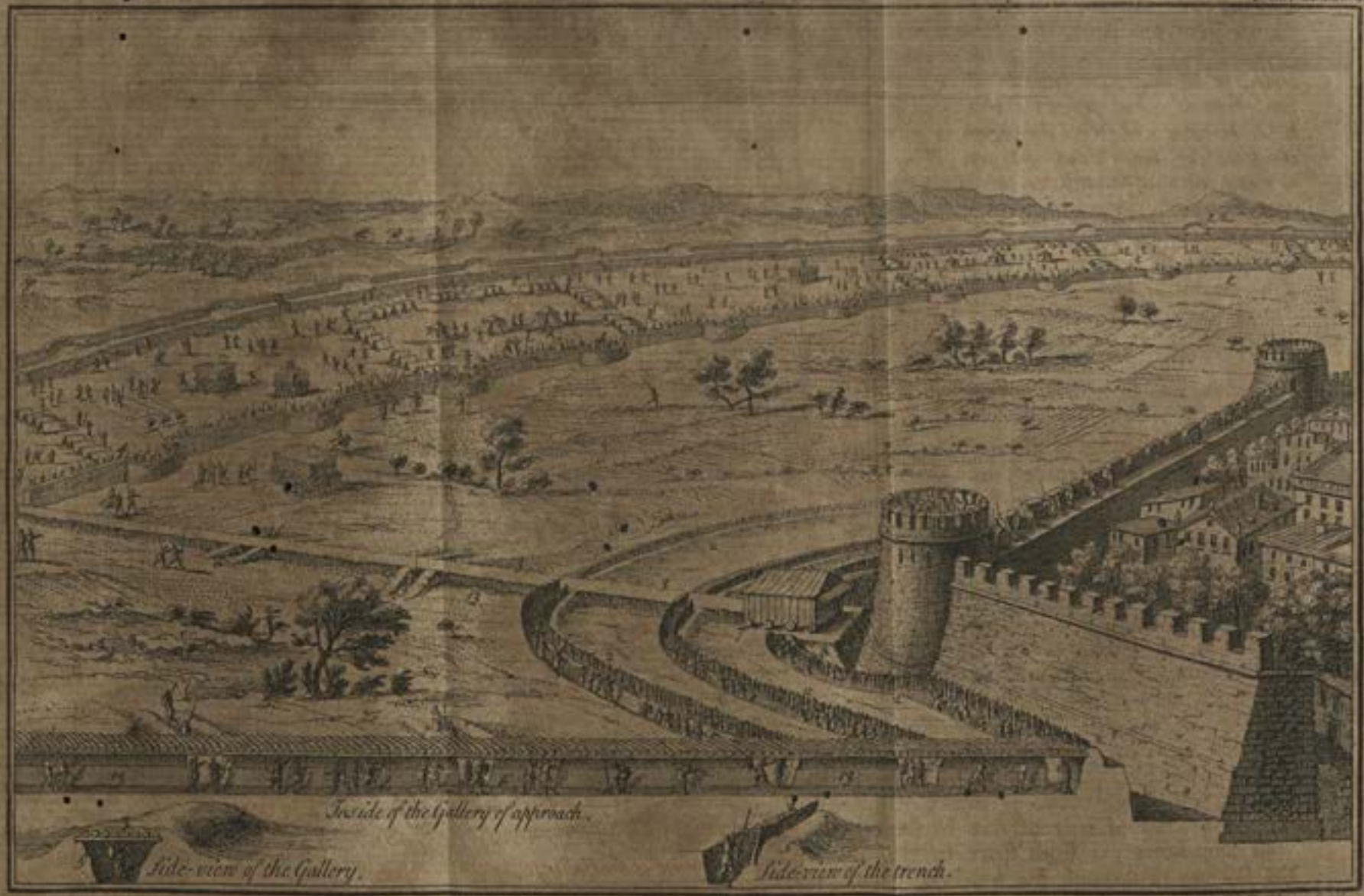
Long before Philip, Demetrius Poliorcetes had uſed the ſame method at the ſiege of Rhodes. Diodorus Siculus tells us, *that famous warrior cauſed tortoiſes, and galleries, cut in the earth, or covered mines, to be made, for communication with the batteries of rams; and ordered a trench with blinds over head, to cover and ſecure the troops in going and coming from the towers and tortoiſes. The ſeamen and marines were appointed for this ſervice; the work was four ſtadia in length, that is to ſay, five hundred paces.*

PLATE XXXVIII. explained.

Trenches and galleries of approach of the antients.

THE approaches of the antients, ſays Mr. Follard, were not entirely like thoſe of the moderns, nor ſo deep in the earth, the fire from our works being of a quite different nature from that of the baliſta's and catapulta's, though ſurpriſingly violent.

It is certain, that they went under cover from their camp to their batteries, and uſed more or leſs precaution, according to the ſtrength and valour of the beſieged, and the number of their machines, by which they regulated the form of their approaches or trenches. Theſe were of two ſorts. The firſt were compoſed of a blind (2) of faſcines or ſtrong hurdles, placed on the ſide of each other without any ſpace between them; ſo that they formed a kind of wall of five or ſix feet high, with loop-holes cut from ſpace to ſpace between the faſcines or through the hurdles. To ſupport this blind, it is ſuppoſed they planted forked pieces of wood in the ground, upon which long



Trenches and Galleries of approach of the Ancients.

poles were laid croſs-wiſe, with the faſcines or hurdles made faſt to them.

There was another kind of approaches very different from the former; theſe were ſeveral trenches or galleries of communication covered at top (3), drawn in a right line from the camp (4) to the works, or to the parallels (2) not much unlike ours. Theſe galleries of communication, of which there is a ſide view or profile in the plate (5), were cut ten or twelve feet broad in the earth. The workmen threw up the earth on both ſides, which they ſupported with faſcines, and covered the ſpace with hurdles and earth, laid upon by poles and rafters. The whole length of theſe galleries in the earth, they cut loop-holes through the ſides and iſſues (6) to go out at. On the ſides of theſe covered trenches or communications were eſplanades, or places of arms, which extended the whole front of the attack. Theſe places were ſpacious, and capable of containing a great body of troops in order of battle: for here they were poſted to ſupport their towers, tortoiſes, and batteries of rams, baliſta's, and catapulta's, againſt the ſallies of the beſieged.

The firſt parallel trench (2), next the body of the place, was drawn along the ſide of the foſſe, and ſerved as a communication to the battering towers and tortoiſes (7) of the beſiegers. This ſort of communications to the moving towers were ſometimes covered at top by a blind of hurdles or faſcines; becauſe, as they ran along the ſide of the counterſcarp, they were expoſed to the downright diſcharges of the towers and ramparts of the beſieged. Loop-holes were cut in the ſides of them, through which the beſiegers fired perpetually upon the works. Theſe covered lines ſerved beſides for filling up the foſſes, and had paſſages of communication (7) with the battering tortoiſes cut in them,

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which tortoiſes were puſhed forwards upon the part of the foſſe filled up (8). When the walls of a place were not high, theſe trenches were not covered with blinds either at top or in front, but only with a parapet of the earth dug out of them, like thoſe of the moderns.

At ſome diſtance from this parallel, another was cut behind it, which left a ſpace between them of the nature of our eſplanades or places of arms; here the batteries of baliſta's and catapulta's were erected, which differed from ours in being higher. There was ſometimes a third upon the ſame parallel line: theſe places of arms contained all the troops that guarded the works; the lines communicated by the galleries or trenches covered at top.

(13) Repreſents the inſide and outſide of theſe covered approaches.

It is certain therefore that the uſe of trenches was well known to the antients, without which they could have formed no ſiege. There were different ſorts of them. They were either foſſes parallel to the front of the attacks, or communications cut in the earth and covered over head, or open, and drawn obliquely, to prevent being ſcowered by the enemy. Theſe trenches are often expreſſed in authors by the Latin word *agcres*, which does not always ſignify *cavaliers* or *platforms*.

The cavaliers were mounts of earth, on which machines were planted, and were thrown up in the following manner: The work was begun at a ſmall diſtance from that ſide of the foſſe next the country. It was carried on under the cover of mantles, or moving ſheds, of conſiderable height, behind which the ſoldiers worked in ſecurity from the machines of the beſieged. This ſort of mantles

or

or galleries were not always compoſed of hurdles and faſcines, but of raw hides, mattreſſes, or of a courtine made of ſtrong cables*, the whole ſuſpended between very high maſts fixed in the ground, which broke the force of whatever was diſcharged againſt it. The work was continued to the height of theſe ſuſpended courtines, which were raiſed in proportion with it. At the ſame time the void ſpaces of the platform were filled up with ſtones, earth, and any thing; whilſt ſome were employed in levelling and beating down the earth, to make it firm and capable of ſuſtaining the weight of the towers and machines to be planted upon it. From theſe towers and batteries of baliſta's and catapulta's, an hail of ſtones, arrows, and large darts, were diſcharged upon the ramparts and works of the beſieged.

* *Cæſar made uſe of ſuch a courtane at the ſiege of Marſeilles.* De bell. civ. l. 3.

PLATE XXXIX. explained.

Profile and manner of erecting the cavaliers or platforms of the antients.

(2) THE mantles behind which the beſiegers worked in raiſing the cavaliers.

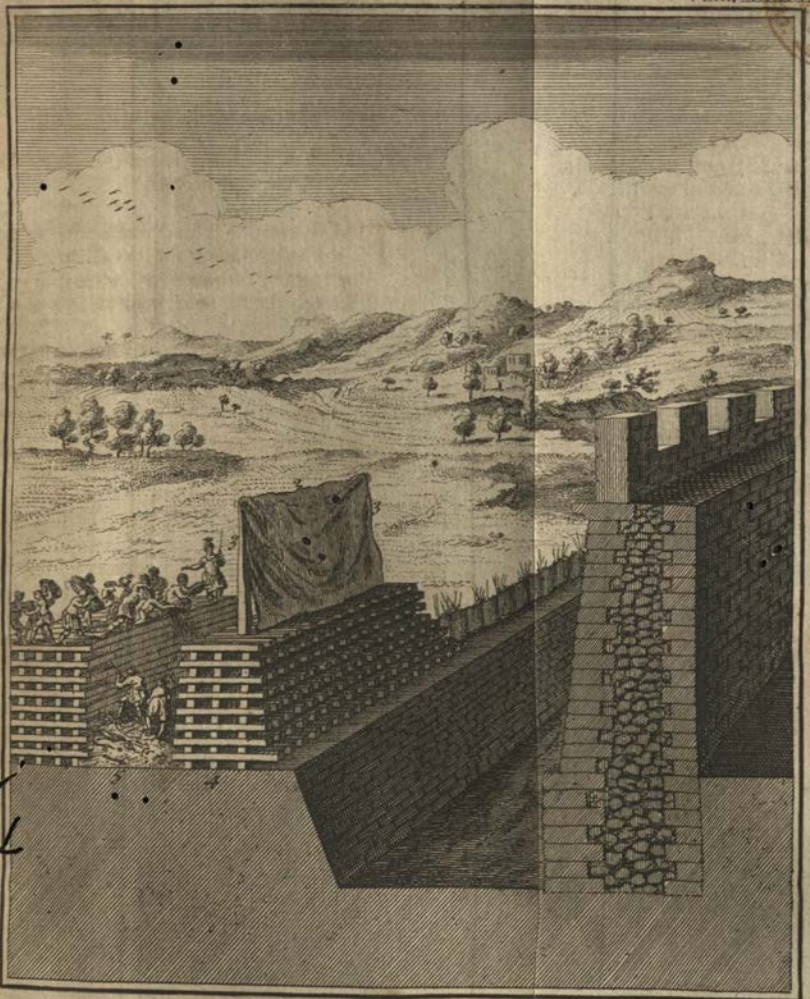
(3) The mattreſs thrown over the mantles.

(4) A ſecond cavalier raiſed behind the firſt when very high.

(5) The void ſpace which was filled up between both cavaliers to the ſame height with them.

Arrian. l. 4. p. 180.

The terraſs, which Alexander the Great cauſed to be raiſed againſt the rock of Coriænæ, was very ſurpriſing. That rock, which was ſuppoſed impregnable, was two thouſand five hundred paces high, and ſeven or eight hundred round. It was exceſſively ſteep on all ſides, having only one path, hewn out of the rock, by which no more than one man could aſcend without difficulty. It was beſides ſurrounded with a deep abyſs, which ſerved it inſtead of a foſſe, and which it was neceſſary to fill up, in order to approach it. All theſe difficulties were not capable of diſcouraging Alexander, to whoſe valour and fortune nothing was impoſſible. He began therefore by ordering the high fir-trees, that ſurrounded the place in great numbers, to be cut down, in order to uſe them as ſtairs to deſcend by into the foſſe. His troops worked night and day in filling it up. Though the whole army were employed in their turns in this work, they could do no more than thirty feet a day, and ſomething leſs a night, ſo difficult was the



W. H. Toms Sculp.t

Profile & manner of erecting the Cavaliers or Platforms of the Ancients.

the work. When it was more advanced, and began to come nearer the due height, they drove piles into both ſides of the foſſe at proper diſtances from each other, (with beams laid a-croſs) in order to ſupport the weight to be laid on it. They then formed a kind of floor, or bridge, of wicker and faſcines, which they covered with earth, to equal the height of the ſide of the foſſe, ſo that the army could advance on a way even with the rock. Till then the Barbarians had derided the undertaking, believing it utterly impracticable. But, when they ſaw themſelves expoſed to the darts of the enemy, who worked upon their terraſs behind mantles, they began to loſe courage, demanded to capitulate, and ſoon after ſurrendered the rock to Alexander.

PLATE

PLATE XL. explained.

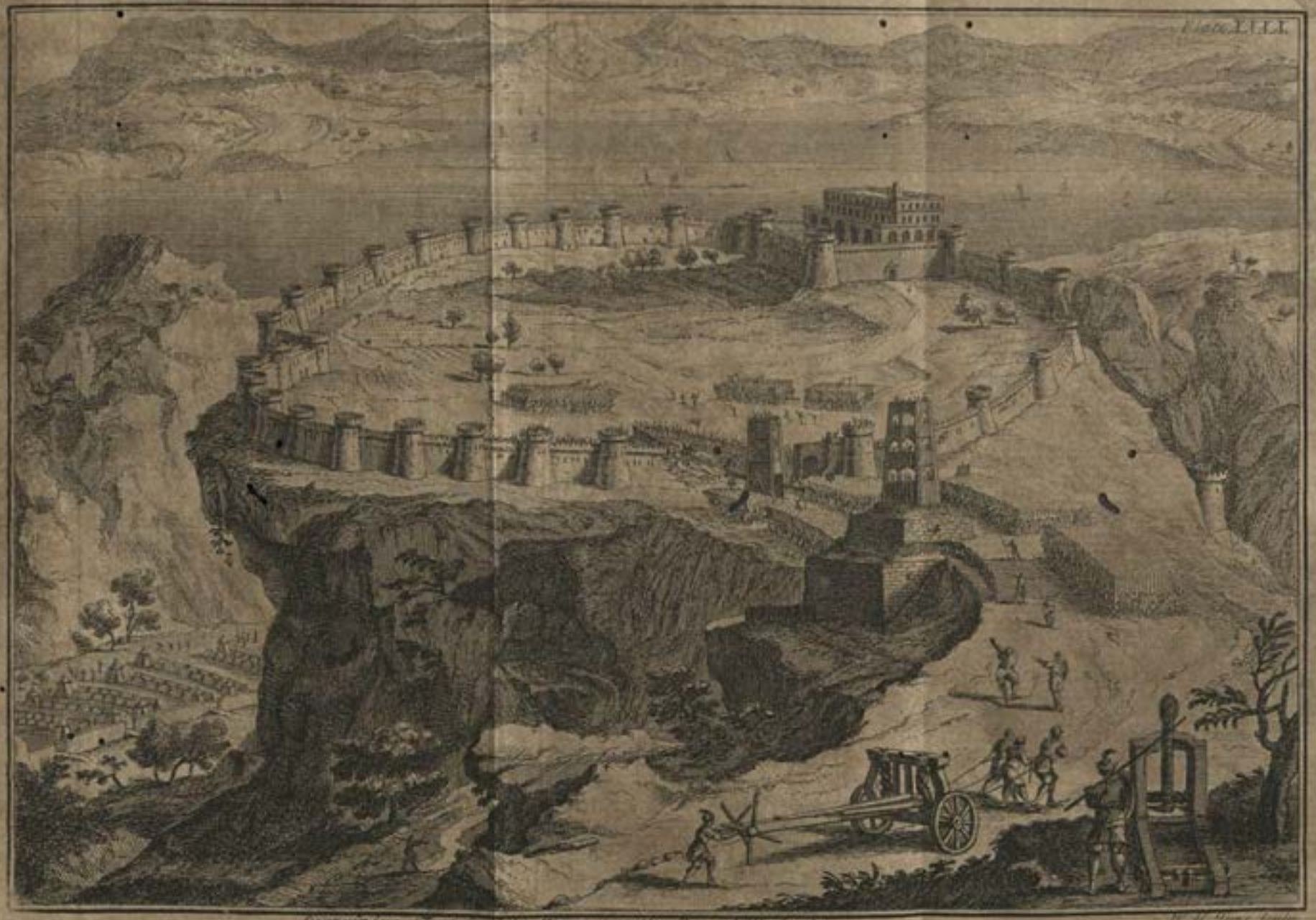
Surpriſing terraſs of the Romans at the ſiege of Maſſada.

THIS terraſs is ſuppoſed to have been of the nature of that of Alexander mentioned in the text.

Sylva having beſieged Maſſada on the ſide of the caſtle or citadel, where there was a rock, larger than that upon which it was built, but not ſo high by two hundred cubits (three hundred feet); after he had ſeized this poſt, he raiſed a terraſs upon it of an hundred cubits (2), which he ſtrengthened with a wall of great ſtones (3). Upon this he erected a ſecond cavalier (4) of fifty cubits, upon which he planted a tower (5) of ſixty feet high.

It was under the diſcharges from theſe terraſſes, that the antients brought their battering tortoiſes to work. At the ſiege of Maſſada, Sylva could not ruin the wall, becauſe ſituated upon a rock, till he had erected the prodigious terraſs (2); but, as this terraſs was only equal in height to the rock (7), and the ram (8) could batter only the bottom of the wall (9), Sylva, to purſue this attack, cauſed the ſecond cavalier (4) to be erected, as is ſaid above.

The filling up of the foſſes was not always ſo difficult as in this inſtance, but always required great precautions and labour. The ſoldiers worked under cover in the tortoiſes, and other the like machines. To fill up the foſſes, they made uſe of ſtones, the trunks of trees, and faſcines, the whole mingled with earth. It was neceſſary that theſe works



Surprizing Terrace of the Romans at the Siege of Masada.

works ſhould be of great ſolidity, to bear the prodigious weight of the machines planted upon them, which would have made them fall in, if this kind of cauſeway had been compoſed only of faſcines. If the foſſes were were full of water, they began by drawing it off either entirely or in part by different drains, which they cut for that purpoſe.

Whilſt theſe works were carrying on, the beſieged were not idle. They ran many mines under the foſſe to the part of it filled up, in order to carry off the earth, which they handed from man to man into the city: this prevented the work from advancing, the beſieged carrying off as much as the beſiegers laid on it. They uſed alſo another more effectual ſtratagem, which was to cut large cavities underneath the works of the latter. After having removed ſome of the earth without its being diſcovered, they ſupported the reſt with props or large beams, which they ſmeared over with greaſe and other combuſtibles. They then filled up the void ſpace between the props with dry wood, and ſuch things as would ſooneſt burn, and ſet them on fire: hence, when the props gave way, the whole fell into a kind of gulph, with the tortoiſes, battering-rams, and men employed in working them.

PLATE

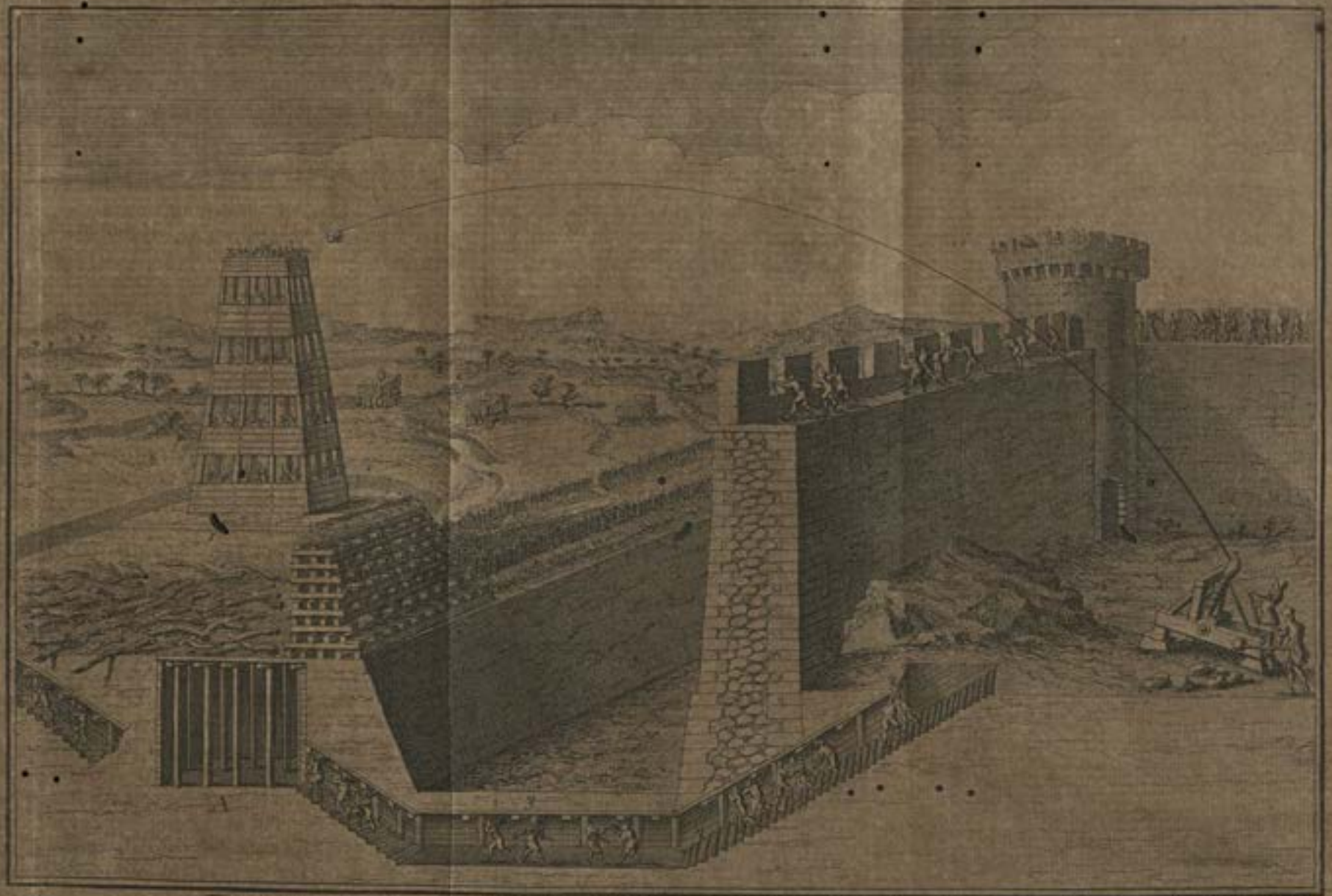
PLATE XLI. explained.

Terraſs of Coſroez at the ſiege of Edeſſa undermined by the beſieged.

THE hiſtory of this terraſs is the beſt manner of explaining this plate.

The beſieged, apprehending a work already above the height of their walls, attempted to raiſe one in front of it, but the greatneſs of the work, and the time it would take up in the execution, diſcouraging them, they took the ſhorteſt method, which was to undermine the terraſs or platform, and to ſet it on fire. For this purpoſe they opened a mine (2), which they carried under the foſſe (3), to the middle of the cavalier (1), under which they dug, and taking away the earth, propped up the terraſs A ſtrongly, after having rummaged it conſiderably on the inſide. The beſiegers, perceiving that the beſieged were under them, had no other remedy in ſo urgent a danger, than to open countermines on each ſide of the platform B. The miners of the beſieged, perceiving that they were working to come at them, replaced the earth on the ſide they worked, to keep them employed; and filled up the mine A and part of the cavalier with dry wood, pitch, oil, ſulphur, and other combuſtibles; to which, after they had ſet fire, they retired. The Perſians, whether out of negligence of their work, or from whatever other cauſe, did not perceive at firſt, that there was any fire in the terraſs; but as the fire did not make all the progreſs the beſieged deſired, time being precious, as the cavalier was finiſhed and commanded their walls, they carried in ſo great a quantity of combuſtibles

Plate XXX



Terrass of Cosroez at the Siege of Edessa undermined by the Besieged.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

buſtibles to thoſe that were already on fire, that the flames began to take hold every-where within the terraſs. As the ſmoke came through it at different places, the beſieged, fearing the enemy would render the fire ineffectual, by having recourſe to immediate remedies; to make them believe that the fire was without, and not within, the work; they had the addreſs to throw ſo great a quantity of darts and arrows with fire and other combuſtibles upon the platform, that thoſe fires which poured from all parts prevented the enemy from diſcovering the far greater under their feet, and they applied themſelves to extinguiſh the former, without thinking at all of the latter. Coſroez went to the terraſs himſelf, and perceived the real danger. He immediately cauſed the work to be opened in ſeveral places, in order to extinguiſh the fire within it with earth and water; which only augmented the violence of the flames. The whole day paſſed at this work, the people in the place laughing at the beſiegers all the while. The air coming in, and the fire finding a vent at the openings, it ſoon burnt with prodigious violence. The beſieged took the advantage of the confuſion it occaſioned, and drove the Perſians out of all their works.

The beſiegers uſed the ſame artifice to make the walls of places fall down. When Darius beſieged Chalcedon, the walls were ſo ſtrong, and the place ſo well provided with all neceſſaries, that the inhabitants were in no pain about the ſiege. The king did not make any approaches to the walls, nor lay waſte the country. He lay ſtill, as if he expected a conſiderable reinforcement. But, whilſt the people of Chalcedon had no other thoughts than of guarding their walls, he opened at the diſtance of three quarters of a league from the city a mine, which the Polyb. l. 5. c. 5.

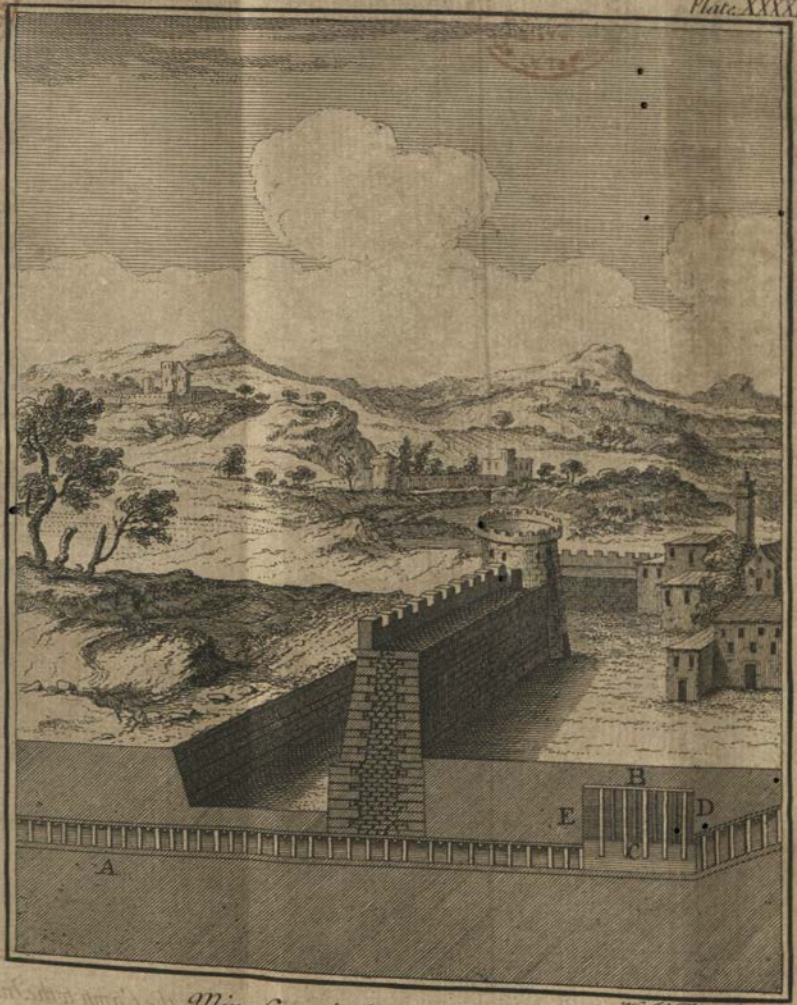
the Perſians carried on as far as the market-place. They judged themſelves directly under it from the roots of the olive-trees, which they knew grew there. They then opened their mine, and, entering by that paſſage, took the place whilſt the beſieged were ſtill employed in keeping guard upon the wall.

Liv. l. 4. n. 22. In the ſame manner, A. Servilius the dictator took the city of Fidenæ, having cauſed ſeveral falſe attacks to be made on different ſides, whilſt a mine, carried on as far as the citadel, opened him a paſſage there for his troops.

Liv. l. 5. n. 19. Another dictator (the celebrated Camillus) could not terminate the long ſiege of Veii, but by this ſtratagem. He undertook to run a mine as far as the citadel of that place. And, that the work might not be diſcontinued, nor the troops diſcouraged by the length of it, he divided them into ſix brigades, who relieved each other every ſix hours. The work being carried on night and day, it extended at length to the citadel, and the city was taken.

Appian. de beli. Mithrid. p. 193. At the ſiege of Athens by Sylla, it is aſtoniſhing to conſider the mines and countermines uſed on both ſides. The miners were not long before they met and fought furiouſly under ground. The Romans, having cut their ways as far as the wall, ſapped a great part of it, and ſupported it in a manner in the air on props of wood, to which they ſet fire without loſs of time. The wall fell ſuddenly into the foſſe with an incredible noiſe and ruins, and all that were upon it periſhed. This was one of the methods of attacking places.

PLATE



Mine from the Camp to the Inside of a place.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

PLATE XLII. explained.

Mine from the camp to the inſide of a place.

THIS kind of mines were long uſed before the invention of ſapping, and conſiſted at firſt in only running the mine A from the camp to the wall; and from thence a conſiderable way into the place, underneath ſome large temple, or other great building little frequented in the night. When they came thither, they cut a large ſpace B, which they propped up with ſtrong timbers C; they then cut the paſſage D, of the whole breadth of the large chamber B, for entering the place in the greater number, whilſt the ſoldiers filed off through the narrow part of the mine E into the chamber B with the utmoſt diligence.

PLATE XLIII. explained.

Mine for ſapping the foundations of a wall.

THE mine (2) was opened very near the camp, to avoid its being diſcovered, and was carried under the foſſe to the foot of the wall (4), when it was enlarged to the right and left of the foundations (5). This latter part ought to be very large for receiving the great number of workmen, and long in proportion to the extent of the wall to be thrown down. This being done, they began to ſap at bottom, and, as the ſtones were pulled out, and the work advanced, they propped the ſuperſtructure with timbers four feet high (6) upon the bottom ſtones of the foundation (5). As ſoon as the work was finiſhed, they laid faggots and other combuſtibles between the props, and after they had ſet them on fire, they quitted that part of the mine, and repaſſed the foſſe to avoid being ſtifled by the ſmoke; beſides which, there was reaſon to fear, that the wall in falling would break into the mine, and bury all under it in its ruins.

SECT.

Mine for Sapping the foundation of a Wall.

SECT. III.

Means uſed in repairing breaches.

THE antients uſed ſeveral methods to defend themſelves againſt the enemy after a breach was made.

Sometimes, but not ſo frequently, they made uſe of trees cut down, which they extended along the whole front of the breach, very near each other, in order that the branches might mingle together; they tied the trunks very firmly to one another, ſo that it was impoſſible to ſeparate theſe trees, which formed an impenetrable fence, behind which a multitude of ſoldiers were poſted, armed with pikes and long partiſans.

The breaches were ſometimes made ſo ſuddenly, either by ſaps above, or under ground, or by the violent blows of the rams, that the beſieged often found their works laid open, when they leaſt thought of it. They had recourſe on ſuch occaſions to a very ſimple refuge, in order to gain time to look about them, and to intrench behind the breach. They threw down upon the ruins of the wall a prodigious quantity of dry wood, and other combuſtible matter, to which they ſet fire: this occaſioned ſo violent flame, that it was impoſſible for the beſieged to paſs through it, or approach the breach. The garriſon, of Haliartus in Bœotia thought of this remedy againſt the Romans. Liv. l. 42. n. 63.

But the moſt uſual method was to erect new walls behind the breaches, which are now called, in French, *retirades*, retrenchments. Theſe works generally were not parallel with the ruined walls. They deſcribed a kind of ſemicircle towards the

place, of which the two ends joined the two ſides of the wall that remained whole. They did not omit to cut a very large and deep foſſe before this work, in order that the beſieged might be under the neceſſity of attacking it with no leſs difficulty, and all the machines employed againſt the ſtrongeſt walls.

Appian. de bell. Mithrid. p. 194.

Sylla, having beat down a great part of the walls of the Piræum with his battering-rams, cauſed the breach to be immediately attacked, where ſo furious a battle enſued, that he was obliged to ſound a retreat. The beſieged, improving the opportunity this gave them, immediately ran a ſecond wall behind the breach. Sylla, perceiving it, made his machines advance to batter it, rightly judging, that being newly built, it could not long reſiſt their violence. The effect anſwered with no great difficulty, and he immediately ordered the aſſault to be given. The action was warm and vigorous; but he was at laſt repulſed with loſs, and obliged to abandon his deſign. Hiſtory abounds with examples of this kind.

PLATE XLIV. explained.

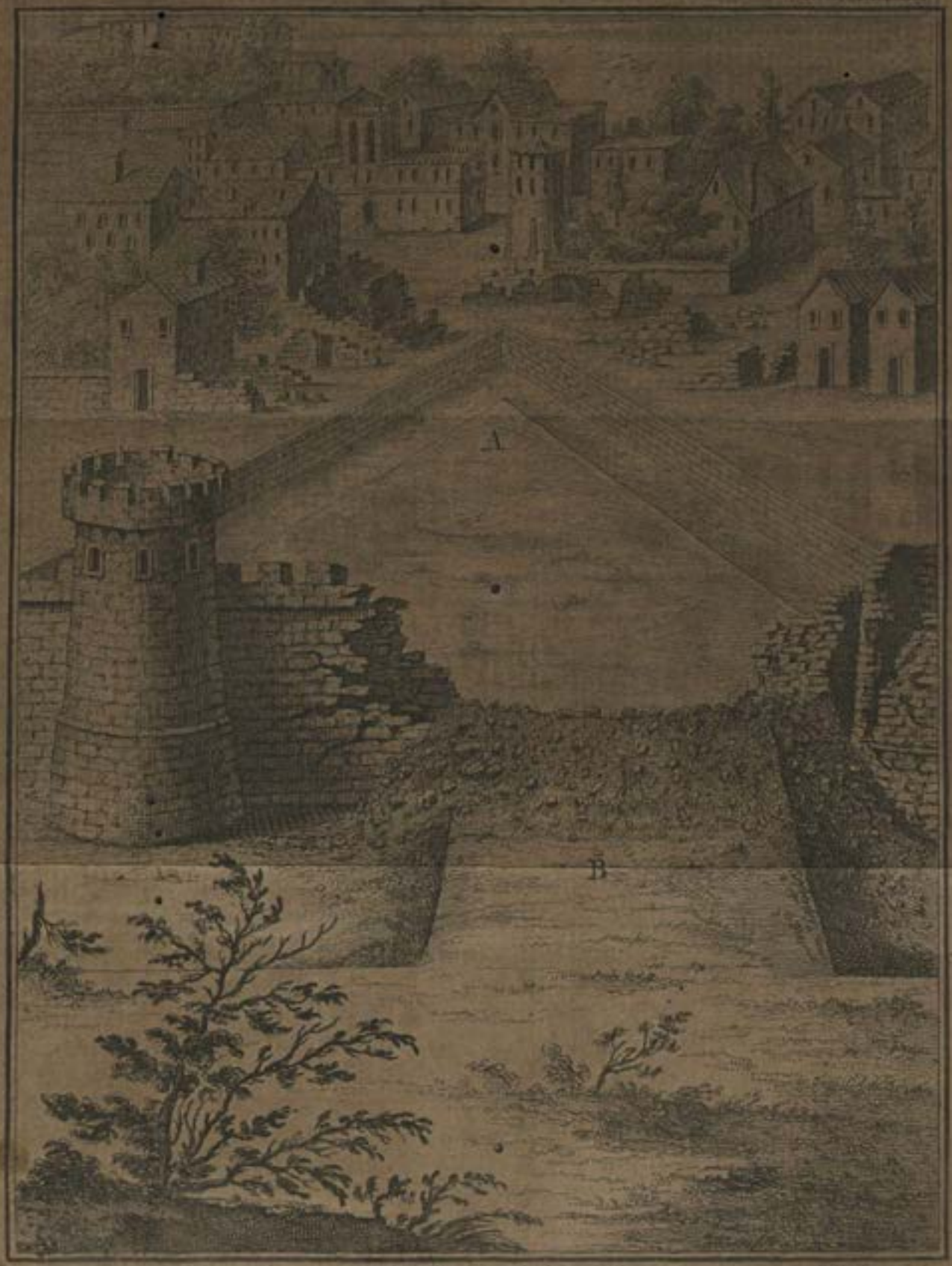
Intrenchments of the antients behind breaches.

AN Intrenchment in form of an angle reverſed; it was ſometimes in the form of a ſection of a circle.

B The lodgment of the beſiegers upon the ruins of the breach, which was ſometimes made level for the paſſage of the machines to batter the new work.

SEC

Plate XXXII.



Entrenchment of the Ancients behind Breaches.

SECT. IV.

Attack and defence of places by machines.

THE machines moſt uſed in ſieges were, as I have obſerved before, the catapulta, baliſta, tortoiſes, battering-rams, and moving towers. To know the force of them, the reader need only turn back to the relations of the moſt important ſieges treated of this hiſtory, ſuch as thoſe of Lilybæum in Sicily by the Romans; of Carthage by Scipio; of Syracuſe, firſt by the Athenians, and afterwards by Marcellus; of Tyre by Alexander; of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorcetes; and of Athens by Sylla.

I ſhall cite here no more than one, of which I ſhall repeat only ſome detached, but very proper, circumſtances, in my opinion, to ſhew the manner in which the antients attacked and defended places, and the uſe they made of machines of war. This is the famous ſiege of Jeruſalem by Titus, related at large by the hiſtorian Joſephus, who was an eye-witneſs of the whole.

The city of Jeruſalem was fortified with a triple wall, except on the ſide of the vallies, where there was but one, becauſe they were inacceſſible. Joſeph. de bell. Jud. l. 1.

Titus began by cauſing all the trees in the neighbourhood to be cut down, and made uſe of that wood in erecting ſeveral platforms or terraſſes. The whole army were employed in this work; the workmen were covered by hurdles and gabions. The Jews omitted nothing on their ſide, that might contribute to their defence; the ramparts were ſoon covered with a great number of machines.

The firſt wall was firſt attacked. When the platforms were erected, Titus cauſed the rams to

be planted upon them, with the other machines to annoy the enemy, and battered the wall in three different places. The Jews perpetually poured an incredible number of fires and darts upon theſe machines, and the ſoldiers that worked the rams. They made alſo ſeveral ſallies to ſet them on fire, and were repulſed with great difficulty.

Titus had cauſed three towers to be erected on theſe platforms, each of ſeventy-five feet in height, to command the ramparts and works of the place. In the night, one of theſe towers fell of itſelf, and occaſioned a great conſternation throughout the whole army. They galled the beſieged exceedingly, for they were full of portable machines, ſlingers, and archers, who poured a continual ſhower of darts, arrows, and ſtones upon them, which they did not know how to remedy, becauſe they could neither raiſe platforms of an equal height with thoſe towers, nor throw them down, they were ſo ſtrong; nor burn them, becauſe covered all over with plates of iron. Nothing therefore being able to retard the effect of the rams, and thoſe dreadful machines perpetually advancing, the Jews abandoned the firſt wall, after a defence of fifteen days. The Romans entered the breach without difficulty, and opened the gates to the reſt of the army.

The ſecond wall gave them no great trouble: Titus ſoon made himſelf maſter of that, with the new city. The Jews then made very extraordinary efforts, and drove him out of them, and it was not till a continual and very fierce battle of four days, that he regained them.

But the third wall coſt him much labour and blood, the Jews refuſing to hearken to any propoſals of peace, and defending themſelves with an obſtinacy, that reſembled rather the madneſs and fury of men in deſpair, than valour and fortitude.

Titus

Titus divided his army into two bodies, in order to form two attacks on the ſide of the fort Antonia; and made his troops work in erecting four terraſſes, upon each of which a legion was employed. Though the work was carried on night and day, it took up above fifteen days to compleat it; at the end of which the machines were planted upon it. John and Simon were at the head of the ſeditious, who ruled all things in the city. They firſt cauſed a mine to be run as far as the terraſs in the front of the fort Antonia, the ground under it to be ſupported by props, a great quantity of wood prepared with roſin and pitch to be carried into it, and then ordered it to be ſet on fire. The props being ſoon conſumed, the terraſs fell in with a dreadful noiſe. Two days after, Simon attacked the other terraſſes, upon which the beſiegers had placed their rams, and begun to batter the wall. Three young officers, followed by ſoldiers as determined as themſelves, opened their way with torches in their hands through the midſt of their enemies, as if they had nothing to fear from the multitude of darts and ſwords; and did not retire till they had ſet fire to the machine. When the flames began to riſe, the Romans ran from their camp to ſave their machines. The Jews repulſed them by the ſhower of darts from the top of their walls, where they had three hundred catapultæ and forty baliſtæ. They alſo ſallied in large bodies, and deſpiſing danger, came to blows with thoſe who advanced to extinguiſh the fire. The Romans uſed their utmoſt endeavours to draw off their rams, of which the covers were burnt; and the Jews, to prevent them, continued amidſt the flames without giving way. The fire from the machines catched the terraſſes, the Romans not being able to hinder it. So that, ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides with the flames, and deſpairing of all

means to preſerve their works, they retreated to their camp. They were inconſolable for having loſt in one hour, by the ruin of their works, what had coſt them ſo much time and pains; and many, ſeeing all their machines deſtroyed, deſpaired of ever being able to take the place.

But Titus did not loſe courage. Having called a great council of war, he propoſed the building of a wall round the city, to deprive the beſieged of all hopes of receiving aid or proviſions, of which they began to be in want. This advice was generally approved, and the troops recovered ſpirit. But what ſeems incredible, and was truly worthy of the Romans, is, that this great work, which appeared to require three months for the execution of it, the city being two leagues in circumference, was begun and finiſhed in three days. The city being incloſed in this manner, the troops were poſted in the towers, with which the new wall was flanked at proper diſtances. Titus at the ſame time cauſed four more terraſſes to be raiſed againſt the fort Antonia, larger than the former. They were compleated in twenty-one days, notwithſtanding the difficulty of finding the wood neceſſary for ſo great a work.

John, who commanded in fort Antonia, in order to prevent the danger conſequential of a breach's being made by the beſiegers, loſt no time in fortifying himſelf; and, to try all things before the rams began to batter, he made a ſally with torches in hand, in order to ſet fire to the enemy's works, but was obliged to return without being able to approach them.

The Romans then advanced their rams to batter the tower Antonia; but ſeeing, notwithſtanding reiterated efforts, that they could not make a breach, they reſolved to ſap it, and, covering themſelves with their bucklers in form of a tortoiſe, againſt the

the quantity of ſtones and flints which the Jews poured down upon them, they perſevered to work in ſuch a manner with their levers and hands, that they looſened four of the ſtones in the foundation of the tower. Night obliged both ſides to ſome reſpite: and, in that time, the part of the wall, under which John had cauſed the mine to be run, by the means of which he had ruined the firſt terraſſes of the Romans, being weakened by the ſtrokes they had given it, fell down on a ſudden. The Jews the ſame moment raiſed another wall behind it.

As it was ſo newly built, it was expected that it would be the more eaſily thrown down; but nobody dared to be the firſt to aſſault it, ſo much the determined courage of the Jews had diſmayed the troops. Several attempts were however made, but without ſucceſs. Providence opened them another way. Some ſoldiers, who guarded the terraſſes, got up without noiſe, towards the cloſe of the night, by the ruins of the wall into the fort Antonia. They found the centinels upon the advanced poſts aſleep, and cut their throats. Having made themſelves maſters of the wall in this manner, they cauſed their trumpets to ſound, which they had taken care to bring with them. Upon that alarm, the guards at the other poſts, imagining the number of the Romans much greater than it was, were ſeized with ſuch fear that they fled. Titus came up ſoon after with part of his troops, and, entering by the ſame ruins, purſued the Jews to the gates of the temple, which they defended with incredible valour. The action was very hot, and continued at leaſt ten hours. But at length the fury and deſpair of the Jews, who ſaw their ſafety depended upon the ſucceſs of this battle, prevailed over the valour and experience of the Romans. The latter thought proper to content themſelves with having

taken fort Antonia, though only a part of their army was preſent in the battle.

Several other aſſaults paſſed which I omit. The greateſt of the rams, that Titus had cauſed to be made, and planted upon the platform, battered the walls of the temple continually for ſix days, without being able to make any more progreſs than the reſt; of ſuch proof was that ſuperb edifice againſt their efforts. The Romans, having loſt all hopes of ſucceeding by attacks of this kind, reſolved to proceed by ſcaling the walls. The Jews, who had not foreſeen it, could not prevent them from planting their ladders. But never was reſiſtance greater than theirs. They threw down ſuch as had got on the wall, killed thoſe upon the upper ſteps of the ladders, before they could cover themſelves with their ſhields, and even threw down the ladders, quite covered with ſoldiers, which coſt the Romans many men. The reſt were obliged to retire without being able to ſucceed in the attempt.

The Jews made many ſallies, in which they fought with the utmoſt fury and deſperation, and killed abundance of the Romans. But Titus at laſt made himſelf maſter of the temple, to which, notwithſtanding the moſt ſevere orders to the contrary, a ſoldier ſet fire, and it was conſumed entirely. And thus the prediction of Jeſus Chriſt concerning it was accompliſhed.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

Of the navies of the antients.

I Have already ſpoken elſewhere of the maritime affairs of the antients, their ſhips, and naval troops. I muſt beg the reader to have recourſe to what I have ſaid there, to ſupply what may be wanting in this place. Vol. IV. p. 341.

Nothing certain can be ſaid concerning the origin of navigation. We may however be aſſured, that the oldeſt veſſel mentioned in hiſtory is Noah's ark, of which God himſelf gave the deſign, and directed the form and all the meaſures, but ſolely with the view which he had of its containing the family of Noah, and all the animals of the earth and air.

This art without doubt was in its beginning groſs and imperfect: planks, rafts, ſmall boats, and little barks. The manner in which fiſh move in the water, and birds in the air, might ſuggeſt to mankind the thoughts of imitating the aids nature has given thoſe animals by oars and ſails. However it were, they have attained by degrees the art of building veſſels in the perfection we now ſee them.

The ſhips of the antients may be divided into two ſpecies: thoſe for tranſporting merchandiſe, * *onerariæ naves*; and ſhips of war, often called long ſhips, *longæ naves*.

The firſt were ſmall veſſels, which were commonly called *open barks*, becauſe they had no deck. Theſe little barks had no beaks called *roſtra*, uſed

* Bomilcar centum triginta navibus longis, & ſeptingentis onerariis profectus. *Liv.* l. 25. n. 27.

in

in ſea-fights, to run againſt and ſink the enemy's ſhips.

The long ſhips uſed in war were of two ſorts. The one had only one bench of oars on each ſide, the other more.

Of thoſe which had only one bench, ſome had twenty oars, εἰκόσοροι; others thirty, τριακόντοροι; ſome fifty, πεντηκόντοροι; or even an hundred, ἑκατόντοροι. Nothing is more common than theſe names of ſhips in Greek authors. The rowers were placed half on one ſide of the veſſel, and half on the other, on the ſame line.

Amongſt the veſſels of ſeveral benches of oars, ſome had two only, *biremes*; others three, *triremes*; ſome four, *quadriremes*; others five, *quinqueremes*; and others a greater number, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. Thoſe moſt ſpoken of by authors, and of which the antients made moſt uſe in battles, were the *triremes* and *quinqueremes*: by which names the reader will permit me to expreſs the ſhips with three and five benches of oars.

We find in all the antient authors a clear and evident diſtinction between theſe *two ſorts of veſſels*. Some were called τριακόντοροι, *ſhips of thirty oars*; πεντηκόντοροι, *ſhips of fifty oars*, &c. and theſe were ranked in the number of ſmall ſhips. We ſhall ſee preſently the difference there was in the number of the ores on board each of them. The latter were diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral benches of oars, as well as magnitude. And Livy ſays expreſsly: *Quinqueremis Romana——pluribus remorum ordinibus ſcindentibus vortices*; as well as Virgil, *Terno conſurgunt ordine remi*. It is therefore not to be doubted, that the antients had ſhips with ſeveral benches of oars, two, three, four, five, ſix, to thirty or forty; but only thoſe of a ſmall number of benches were of uſe: the reſt being only for ſhew.

Liv. l. 37. n. 30.

Æn. l. 5.

To

To know of what nature theſe ſeveral benches of oars were, and how they could be put in motion, is a difficulty, and has always been a matter of diſpute amongſt the learned moderns, which in all probability may continue for ever undecided. The moſt able and experienced perſons in naval affairs amongſt us, believe the thing utterly impoſſible. And indeed it would be ſo, if we ſuppoſe, that theſe different ranks of oars were placed perpendicularly over one another. But we ſee the contrary upon Trajan's column, on which the biremes and triremes have their benches placed obliquely, and, as it were, by ſteps one above the other.

The arguments, oppoſed to the opinion of thoſe who admit ſeveral ranks of oars in veſſels, are, it muſt be owned, very ſtrong and concluſive: But what force can the beſt reaſons in the world have againſt real facts, and an experience confirmed by the teſtimony of all the antient writers?

It appears, that the rowers were diſtinguiſhed from the place or ſtep where they ſat. The loweſt were called *Thalamites*, thoſe in the middle *Zugites*, and thoſe above *Thranites*. The latter had larger pay than the others, without doubt, becauſe they handled longer and heavier oars than thoſe of the lower benches. Interp. Ariſtoph. in Ranis. Thucyd. l. 6. p. 431.

It is ſtill a queſtion, whether in great ſhips each oar had only one man to it, or more, as now in the gallies of France. In the biremes and triremes on the column of Trajan, there is only one rower to a bench on each ſide. It is very probable, that there were more in larger veſſels; but I avoid entering into diſcuſſions, which would carry me a great way beyond the extent of my plan.

There are deſcriptions in Athenæus of ſhips of aſtoniſhing and incredible magnitude. The two firſt were Ptolemy Philopator's, king of Egypt. One of them carried forty benches of oars, and was Athen. l. 5. p. 203—206.

was four hundred feet long, and fifty-ſeven broad. Four thouſand rowers hardly ſufficed to put this enormous hulk in motion. It was launched by a machine, compoſed of as much wood as was neceſſary in making fifty ſhips of five benches of oars. How ſhall we conceive the making uſe of the forty benches of oars in this veſſel? But indeed it was only for ſhew.

The other ſhip, called *Talamega*, becauſe it had beds and apartments in it, was three hundred and twelve feet and an half in length, and forty-five in its greateſt breadth. Its height, including the tent or pavilion upon its deck, was almoſt ſixty feet. All round it (except the head) there was a double gallery of immenſe extent. It was really a floating palace. Ptolemy cauſed it to be built to carry himſelf and his whole court upon the Nile; Athenæus does not mention the number of its ranks or benches of oars.

Athen. l. 5. p. 206—209. The third veſſel is that which Hiero II, king of Syracuſe, cauſed to be built under the direction of the famous Archimedes. It had twenty benches of oars, and was of incredible magnificence. No port of Sicily being capable of containing it, Hiero made a preſent of it to Ptolemy Philopator, and ſent it to *Alexandria*. Though the hold or ſink was very deep, one man emptied it by the means of a machine invented by Archimedes.

Theſe veſſels, which were only for ſhew, have, properly ſpeaking, no relation to the ſubject I treat on. As much may be ſaid of that of Philip, the father of Perſeus, mentioned by Livy. It had ſixteen benches of oars, but could ſcarce be made to move, upon account of its magnitude.

Plut. in Demetr. p. 897. What Plutarch ſays of the gallies of Demetrius Poliorcetes is very ſurpriſing, and he takes care to apprize the reader that he ſpeaks with the ſtricteſt truth, and without any exaggeration. That prince, who,

who 'tis known, was well verſed in the arts, and very inventive in regard to machines of war, had alſo cauſed ſeveral gallies of fifteen and ſixteen benches of oars to be built; not merely for oſtentation, as he made a wonderful uſe of them in battles and ſieges. Lyſimachus, not being able to believe what was ſaid of them, ſent to deſire him, though his enemy, to let his gallies row before him; and, when he had ſeen their ſwift and eaſy motion, he was inexpreſſibly ſurpriſed, and could ſcarce venture to believe his own eyes. Theſe veſſels were of aſtoniſhing beauty and magnificence; but their lightneſs and agility ſeemed ſtill more worthy of admiration, than their ſize and ſplendor.

But we will confine ourſelves to thoſe which were more known and common, I mean, principally, the gallies of three, four, and five benches of oars; and obſerve upon the uſe made of them in battles.

There is no mention in Homer of veſſels with ſeveral benches of oars; it was not till after the Trojan war that the uſe of them was introduced, and the æra is unknown. The Corinthians were the firſt who changed the antient form of the gallies, and built thoſe of three benches of oars, and perhaps alſo of five. Syracuſe, a Corinthian colony, piqued herſelf, eſpecially in the time of Dionyſius the elder, upon imitating the induſtry of the city from which ſhe derived her origin; and even at length ſurpaſſed it, by carrying that to perfection, which the former had only deſigned. The wars which ſhe had to ſupport againſt Carthage, obliged her to devote all her cares and application to naval affairs. Thoſe two cities were at that time the greateſt maritime powers in the world. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 8. —10.

Greece, in general, had not yet diſtinguiſhed herſelf in this reſpect. It had been the plan and deſign of Lycurgus abſolutely to prohibit the uſe of navigation to his citizens; and that from two motives,

motives, equally worthy the wiſe and profound policy of that legiſlator. His firſt view was to remove from his republic all commerce with ſtrangers, leaſt ſuch mixture ſhould alter the purity of its manners, and weaken the ſeverity of the maxims he had eſtabliſhed. In the ſecond place, he was for baniſhing from the Lacedæmonians all deſire of aggrandiſing themſelves, and all hope of making conqueſts; conſidering that dire ambition as the ruin of ſtates. Sparta therefore at firſt had only a very ſmall number of ſhips.

Athens was originally no better provided with them. It was Themiſtocles, who, penetrating into the future, and foreſeeing at a diſtance what they had to apprehend from the Perſians, converted the whole power of Athens into a maritime force, equipped upon a different pretext a numerous fleet, and, by that wiſe proviſion, preſerved Greece, obtained immortal glory for his country, and put it into a condition to become in a ſhort time ſuperior to all the neighbouring ſtates.

During almoſt five ages, Rome, if Polybius may be believed, was entirely ignorant of what a veſſel, galley, or fleet were. As ſhe was ſolely employed in ſubjecting the ſtates around, ſhe had no occaſion for them. When ſhe began to ſend her troops into Sicily, ſhe had not a ſingle bark of her own, and borrowed veſſels of her neighbours to tranſport her armies. But ſhe ſoon perceived, that ſhe could not oppoſe the Carthaginians, whilſt they were maſters of the ſea. She therefore conceived the deſign of diſputing the empire of it with them, and of equipping a fleet. A quinqueremis, which the Romans had taken from the enemy, gave birth to the thought, and ſerved them for a model. In leſs than two months they built an hundred gallies of five and twenty of three benches of oars. They formed mariners and rowers by an exerciſe before

Polyb. l. 1. p. 25.

before unknown to them; and, in the firſt battle they gave the Carthaginians, they overcame them, though the moſt powerful nation of the world by ſea, and the moſt expert in naval affairs.

The fleet of Xerxes, when it ſet out from Aſia to attack Greece, conſiſted of more than twelve hundred gallies with three benches of oars, of which each carried two hundred and thirty men; and three thouſand gallies of thirty or fifty oars, beſides tranſports, which one with another carried fourſcore men. The other gallies, ſupplied by the provinces of Europe, had each two hundred men on board. Thoſe which ſet out from Athens, during the Peloponneſian war, to attack the Syracuſans, carried as many. From whence we may ſuppoſe the uſual complement of thoſe veſſels was two hundred men. Herod. l. 7. c. 89.

I could have wiſhed, that hiſtorians had diſtinguiſhed clearly in regard to theſe two hundred men, who were the complement of the ſhips; how many of them were merely ſeamen, and how many ſoldiers. Plutarch, in ſpeaking of thoſe of the Athenians that were in the battle of Salamis, obſerves, that each of the hundred and fourſcore gallies, of which their fleet conſiſted, had only eighteen fighting men on board, of whom four were archers, and the reſt heavy-armed troops: which is a very ſmall number. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 119.

The battle of Salamin is one of the moſt famous of antiquity; but we have no very particular account of it. The Athenians diſtinguiſhed themſelves in it by invincible valour, and their commander ſtill more by his ability and prudence. He perſuaded the Greeks, not without much difficulty, to ſtop in a ſtreight, which rendered the ſuperiority in number of the Perſian veſſels uſeleſs: and he delayed engaging, till a certain wind very contrary to the enemy began to blow. Herod. l. 8. c. 84—96.

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The laſt battle of the Athenians, in the port of Syracuſe, occaſioned their ruin. Becauſe they exceedingly apprehended the beaks of the enemy's gallies, of which they had made a ſad experience in the former actions, Nicias had provided grappling irons, in order to prevent their effect, and come immediately to blows as upon ſhore. But the enemy, who perceived it, covered the heads and upper parts of their gallies with leather, in order to give leſs hold to the grapples, and avoid being boarded. Their diſcharges did much greater execution. The Athenians were overwhelmed by an hail of ſtones, which never miſſed their aim, whilſt their darts and arrows were almoſt always ineffectual, from the motion and agitation of the veſſels. Their antient glory and power ſuffered ſhipwreck in this laſt battle.

Polybius has a ſhort but very fine deſcription of a ſea-fight, which was to the Romans an happy omen of the future, and made way for the conqueſts, which were to aſſure them of the empire of the ſea. It is that of Myla in Sicily againſt the Carthaginians, in which the conſul Duillius commanded. I have related it in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians. What is particular, in this battle, is a machine of a new invention, made faſt to the top of the heads of the Roman ſhips, and called *Corvus*. It was a kind of crane, drawn up on high and ſuſpended by cords, which had an heavy cone of iron, called *Corvus*, at its extremity, that was let down with impetuoſity, upon the ſhips of the enemy, to break through the planks of the decks, and grapple them. This machine was the principal cauſe of the victory, the firſt the Romans ever gained at ſea.

PLATE

XLV. *Grappling Corvus of Duillius.*

PLATE XLV. explained.

Grappling Corvus (or Crane) of Duillius.

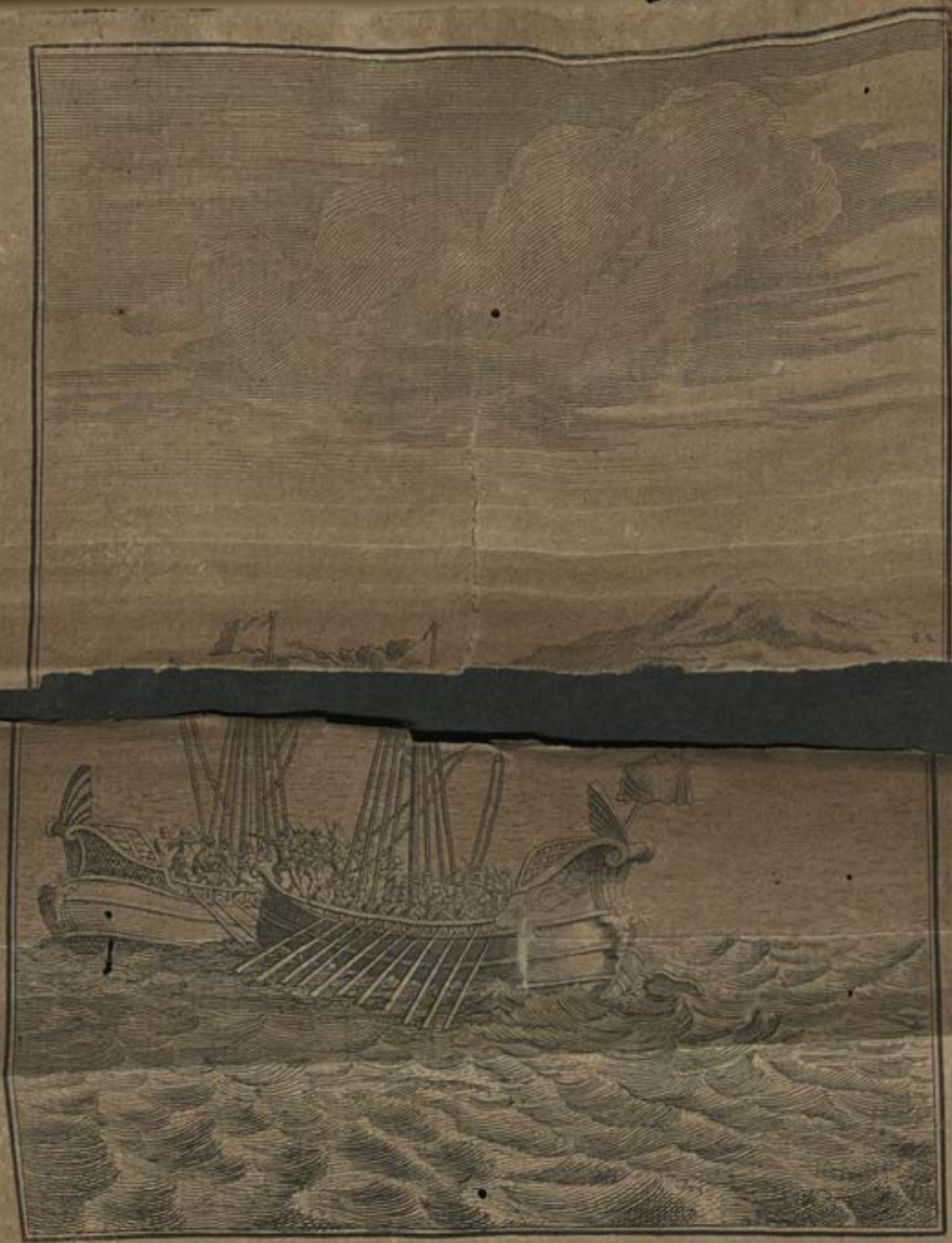
THIS Corvus, or crane, conſiſted of the maſt or tree (2) fixed in the forecaſtle (3), of the height of four fathoms, and about twelve or ſixteen inches in diameter. Upon the top of it there was an iron pivot (4), upon which turned the neck of the crane (5) with the Corvus (6) very ſharp-pointed. The Corvus hung by the rope (8), which ran through a pulley at the end of the neck of the crane. When the end of this rope (9) was let go, it fell with ſuch force into the enemy's ſhip, that it pierced through the deck into the forecaſtle; but, as it might come out again through the ſame hole, it was neceſſary to add the moveable hooks (10) that were affixed to it in the manner of hinges, ſo that when the Corvus pierced through the deck they gave way, and opened again of themſelves immediately, to ſeize whatever they were drawn againſt. The Corvus was let fall, when within the proper diſtance from the enemy's ſhip, from the higheſt part of the neck of the crane (5), and as ſoon as it had grappled, the bridge (11), with iron claws to faſten by, was let down.

PLATE XLVI. explained.

The Dolphin of the Greeks.

THIS machine, like the former, was only a maſs of caſt iron (2) which hung at the yards of ſhips. It muſt have been of an exceſſive weight, to have produced the effects related of it by authors. It was in uſe amongſt the Greeks, according to Suidas, and the ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes. They called it a Dolphin, perhaps from its being of a ſimilar form to that fiſh; it hung by a cord at the end of the yard, from whence it was let fall upon the enemy's ſhip, which it pierced from the deck to the hold. In the famous battle in one of the ports of Syracuſe, the Athenians having been defeated, the Syracuſans purſued them towards the ſhore, but were ſtopped, ſays Thucydides, by the yards of the Athenian ſhips, at the ends of which hung Dolphins of lead, capable of ſinking them: two of their ſhips, that went too near them, actually were ſunk. Authors do not mention the origin of theſe machines.

PLATE



XLVI. *The Dolphin of the Greeks.*

Cornus, or Crane, of Archimedes according to Polybius and Plutarch for seizing and lifting Ships out of the Water.

PLATE XLVII. explained.

Corvus (or crane) of Archimedes, according to Polybius and Plutarch, for ſeizing and lifting ſhips out of the water.

FROM what Plutarch ſays, the Corvus of Archimedes ſeems to have been a kind of crane, with the addition of ſeveral other powers of motion, not uſed by the moderns with that kind of machine.

Polybius expreſly ſays, that it conſiſted of a balance and a lever, which ſeems moſt probable, thoſe powers being moſt capable of producing the effects aſcribed to it, as well as of being worked with more expedition and eaſe. It was undoubtedly a beam, or maſt of prodigious length, conſiſting of ſeveral pieces or maſts joined together, to render it the ſtronger and the leſs flexible. Theſe were very well ſtrengthened in the middle with iron work, and bound from ſpace to ſpace with cordage, like the maſt of a ſhip compoſed of ſeveral pieces. This enormous beam was lengthened by another of almoſt equal ſtrength.

This vaſt lever muſt have been ſuſpended, almoſt in the nature of a crane, to a great tree fixed upright, and made faſt within the wall by ſtrong rings of iron wound about with cords, as in the plate.

The lever, being firmly ſlung in this manner by a maſt cable or chain to the tree that ſupports it, for the greater effect, in proportion to the diſtance of the power or line of direction from the centre of motion, (at the beam to which it was faſtened) by adding other powers A, acting perpendicularly,

or drawing directly down from the ſame point with the line of direction.

At the extremity of this vaſt lever were ſeveral grapplings, like flukes of anchors B, hanging at the ends of chains, which were flung over the ſhips, when they came within reach of the machine. A conſiderable number of men C lowered the end of this lever by the means of cords, made faſt to two great cables at the ends of it. As ſoon as the iron claws had taken hold, a ſignal was given to theſe workmen C, and the end of the lever within the walls drawn down, whilſt the other roſe up, carrying the ſhip with it to a certain height, which after was either beat to pieces, by vibration againſt the walls, or let fall into the ſea by cutting the great cable, at the end of which the ſhip hung by the chains and claws or flukes.

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PLATE XLVIII

Columna Rostrata or Naval Trophy erected in memory of the Victory of Duilius over the Carthaginians.

PLATE XLVIII. explained.

Columna roſtrata, *or a naval trophy erected in memory of the victory of Duillius over the Carthaginians.*

THIS was the firſt victory gained by the Romans at ſea. Florus tells, that they erected a column, or naval trophy, with an inſcription in memory of it. This is undoubtedly true, for, about the end of the ſixteenth century, part of it was dug up at Rome. Theſe columns were called *Roſtrata*, from *roſtra*, the beaks of ſhips, with which they were adorned, and which projected from the pillar, and were diſpoſed as in the plate.

The ſame Polybius deſcribes more extenſively a famous naval battle near Ecnoma, a city of Sicily. The Romans, commanded by the conſuls Attilius Regulus and L. Manlius, had three hundred and thirty deck-ſhips, and an hundred and forty thouſand men, each veſſel carrying three hundred rowers, and one hundred and twenty ſoldiers. The Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hanno and Hamilcar, had three hundred and fifty veſſels, and above one hundred and fifty thouſand men. The deſign of the former was to carry the war into Africa, which the others were extremely intereſted to prevent. Every thing therefore was diſpoſed for a battle.

The order of battle of the Romans at this time was entirely unuſual. They did not draw up in one or more lines, which was very common, *leſt* the enemy ſhould get between their lines, with the advantage of their number; but took care to face on all ſides. Beſides which, as the enemy's ſtrength conſiſted in the agility of their ſhips, they thought it neceſſary to row in an oblique line, and obſerve an order of battle not eaſy to be broken.

For this purpoſe, the two ſhips of ſix benches, on board of which were the conſuls Regulus and Manlius, were placed in the front, ſide by ſide. They were each followed by a file of ſhips, called the firſt and ſecond fleet. The veſſels of each file ſtood off, and enlarged the file as they drew up, turning their heads outwards. The two firſt fleets being thus drawn up in the form of a beak [illegible] wedge, the third line of ſhips was formed, ca[illegible] the third fleet. This cloſed the ſpace, and fa[illegible] the enemy; ſo that this order of battle had [illegible] form of a triangle. Theſe three lines compo[illegible] kind of divided whole, conſiſting of three [illegible] for ſo they were called. This third line, or [illegible] fleet,

fleet, towed the tranſports, on board of which were the cavalry, which formed a ſecond body. And, laſtly, the fourth fleet, or the triarii (for ſo it was called) brought up the rear, in ſuch a manner, that it extended beyond the two ſides of the line in front of it; and this was the third body. In this diſpoſition the order of battle repreſented a wedge or beak, of which the fore part was hollow, and the baſe ſolid; but the whole ſtrong, fit for action, and hard to break.

The Carthaginians, on their ſide, drew up almoſt their whole fleet in one line. The right wing commanded by Hanno, and conſiſting of the lighteſt and nimbleſt galleys, advanced very much a-head of the fleet, to ſurround thoſe of the enemy, that were oppoſite to it, and had their heads all facing towards it. The left wing, conſiſting of the fourth part of the fleet, was drawn up in the form of an horn-work, or gibbet, and inclined towards the coaſt. Hamilcar, as admiral, commanded the centre, and this left wing. He made uſe of ſtratagem to ſeparate the Roman fleet. The latter, who aſſured themſelves of victory over a fleet drawn up with ſo great an extent, began, by attacking the centre, which had orders to retire by little and little, as if giving way to the enemy, and preparing to fly. The Romans did not fail to purſue them. By which movement the firſt and ſecond fleet (we have before obſerved which to diſtinguiſh by thoſe names) parted from the third, that had the tranſports in tow; and the fourth, in which were the triarii deſigned to ſupport them. When they were at a certain diſtance, upon a ſignal given from Hamilcar's galley, the Carthaginians fell all at once upon the veſſels that purſued them. The Carthaginians had the advantage of the Romans in the nimbleneſs of their ſhips, and the addreſs and facility with which they either advanced or retired:

but the vigour of the Romans in the charge, their cranes for grappling the enemy's veſſels, the preſence of the two conſuls, who fought at their head, and in whoſe ſight they were infinitely ardent to ſignaliſe themſelves, inſpired them with no leſs confidence, than the Carthaginians had on their ſide. Such was the engagement here.

At the ſame time Hanno, who commanded the right wing, fell in with the ſhips of the triarii, and put them into diſorder and confuſion. On the other ſide, the Carthaginians, who were in the form of a fork or gibbet, and near ſhore, drew up in a line, and charged the ſhips that towed the tranſports. The latter immediately let go the cords and came to blows with them, ſo that the whole battle was divided into three parts, which made as many different fights at conſiderable diſtances from each other.

As the forces were very near equal on both ſides, ſo was the advantage at firſt. At length the ſquadron commanded by Hamilcar, not being able to reſiſt any longer, was put to flight, and Manlius made faſt the ſhips he had taken to his own. Regulus, at the ſame time, went to the aid of the triarii and tranſports, with the veſſels of the ſecond fleet, which had not ſuffered at all. Whilſt he engaged Hanno, the triarii, who had before given way, reſumed courage, and returned to the charge with vigour. The Carthaginians, attacked in front and rear, could not reſiſt long, and fled.

While this paſſed, Manlius returned, and perceived the third fleet driven cloſe to the ſhore by the left wing of the Carthaginians. The tranſports and triarii being ſafe, they joined him and Regulus, to make haſte and extricate it out of the danger in which they ſaw it; and it would have been entirely defeated, if the Carthaginians, through

through fear of being grappled, and thereby reduced to come to blows, had not contented themſelves with ſhutting it in near the ſhore, without daring to attack it. The conſuls coming up in very good time, ſurrounded the Carthaginians, and took fifty ſail of them with their whole complements.

Such was the event of this ſea-fight, in which the Romans were entirely victorious. Twenty-four of their ſhips, and above thirty of the Carthaginians periſhed in it. None of the Roman ſhips of war fell into the enemy's hands, who loſt more than ſixty-four.

The Romans never, even in the time of their greateſt power, fitted out in their own names, and alone, ſo great a fleet as this we now ſpeak of; which Polybius obſerves upon it. Four years before they were abſolutely ignorant of what a fleet conſiſted, and now ſet ſail with three hundred and thirty deck-ſhips.

When we conſider the rapidity, with which theſe veſſels were built, we are tempted to imagine, that they were of a very ſmall ſize, and could not contain abundance of hands. We find here the contrary. Polybius tells us a circumſtance, which is no where elſe ſo clearly explained, and which it is extremely important to know: that is, that each galley carried three hundred rowers, and one hundred and twenty ſoldiers. How much room muſt the rigging, proviſion, water, and other ſtores of ſuch a galley require! We ſee in Livy, that they ſometimes carried proviſions and water for forty-five days, and without doubt ſometimes for a longer term. Liv. l. 29. n. 25.

The Corvus, or crane, of which mention is often made in ſea-fights, a machine for grappling ſhips, ſhews us, that the antients found no means ſo effectual to aſſure themſelves of victory, as to join

join in cloſe fight, or board the enemy. They often carried baliſta's and catapulta's on board, to diſcharge darts and ſtones. Though theſe machines, which ſerved them inſtead of our cannon, had ſurpriſing effects, they only uſed them when ſhips were at a certain diſtance, and boarded them as ſoon as poſſible. It is in this indeed, and only in this, that the valour of troops really appears.

The galleys, of which theſe two fleets conſiſted, were of three benches of oars, or, at moſt, of five, except thoſe of the two conſuls, which had ſix. At the battle of Myla, the admiral galley had ſeven benches of oars. It is eaſy to judge, that theſe admiral galleys were not merely for ſhew, and that they muſt have been of more ſervice in the battle than any of the reſt.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANTIENTS, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

WE are at length arrived at the arts and ſciences which relate merely to the mind, and are intended to inrich it with all the branches of knowledge, neceſſary to inſtruct man, to give his nobler part all the perfection of which it is capable; to form his underſtanding and heart, and, in a word, to inable him to diſcharge the ſeveral functions, to which the divine Providence ſhall vouchſafe to call him. For we muſt not deceive ourſelves in this reſpect: The end of the ſciences is neither to become learned ſolely for ourſelves, nor to ſatisfy a reſtleſs and barren curioſity, which draws us on by a ſeducing pleaſure from objects to objects; but to contribute, each in his way, to the general advantage of ſociety. To confine one's labours and ſtudies to one's own ſatisfaction, and to centre every thing in one's ſelf, is to be ignorant that man is the part of an whole,

to which he ought to adhere and refer himſelf, of which the beauty conſiſts eſſentially in the union and harmony of the parts that compoſe it; and which all, though by different means, tend to the ſame end, the public utility.

It is with this view God diſtributes to mankind their different talents and inclinations, which are ſometimes ſo ſtrongly implanted, that it is almoſt impoſſible to reſiſt them. Every body knows what an inclination the famous Mr. Paſchal had from his earlieſt infancy for geometry, and what a wonderful progreſs he made in it by the pure force of his genius, notwithſtanding the care taken by his father to hide all the books and inſtruments from him, which could give him any idea of it. I could quote a great number of the like examples in every art and ſcience.

A ſequel and effect of theſe natural inclinations, which always denote great talents, is the induſtrious application of the learned to certain ſtudies, often abſtracted and difficult, and ſometimes even diſagreeable and tedious, to which, however, they find a ſecret pleaſure attach them with an almoſt irreſiſtible violence. Who can doubt but this pleaſure is a kind of attractive charm, which Providence annexes to certain ſevere and painful labours, in order to ſoften their rigours to theſe purſuers, and to make them ſurmount with courage the obſtacles, which ſooner or later might diſguſt them, if not paſſionate after their object and actuated by a taſte ſuperior to all difficulty?

But do we not alſo ſee, that the deſign of God, in diſpenſing the talents and inclinations of men with ſo aſtoniſhing a diverſity, has been to inable the learned to be uſeful to ſociety in general, and to obtain for it all the aids in their power? And what can be more glorious and more grateful to them, if they underſtand aright their true glory, than

than to perceive themſelves ſelected from all mankind, to be miniſters and co-operators in the cares of the divine Providence with regard to man, in that very circumſtance wherein thoſe cares are greateſt and moſt divine; which is in being the guide of the underſtanding, and the light of the ſoul.

Should I be ſuffered, when I behold the infinite variety of the branches of knowledge intended for the inſtruction of man, from Grammar, which is their baſe, to thoſe which are more exalted and ſublime, if I compared them with the aſſemblage of the ſtars diſperſed throughout the vaſt extent of the firmament to diſpel the darkneſs of night? I ſeem to ſee in thoſe bodies a wonderful relation with learning and learned men. They have each their allotted ſphere, in which they conſtantly remain. They all ſhine, but with different ſplendor, ſome more, ſome leſs, without envying each other. They keep always within the paths aſſigned them, without ever deviating to the right or left. In fine, and this, in my opinion, is moſt worthy of attention, they do not ſhine for themſelves, but for him who made them: *Stellæ dederunt lumen in cuſtodiis ſuis, & lætatæ ſunt. Vocatæ* Bar. III. 34. *ſunt, & dixerunt, adſumus; & luxerunt ei cum jucunditate qui fecit illas. The ſtars ſhined in their watches, and rejoiced: when he calleth them they ſay, here we be; and with chearfulneſs they ſhewed light unto him that made them.* This is our duty and our model: of which I ſay no more.

This book contains what relates to Grammarians, Philologers, which term I ſhall explain in its place; Rhetoricians and Sophiſts. I muſt premiſe to the reader, that he will find in his progreſs here ſome thorns and difficulties. I have removed abundance, and have left only ſuch as could not be excluded, being obliged to it by the nature of the ſubjects under conſideration.

CHAP-

CHAPTER I.

OF GRAMMARIANS.

GRAMMAR is the art of ſpeaking and writing correctly.

There is nothing more admirable, nor more worthy of our attention, than the double gift God has conferred upon us of ſpeech and writing. We make continual uſe of them, almoſt without ever reflecting that we do ſo, and without conſidering the amazing wonders both the one and other include.

Speech is one of man's greateſt advantages over all other animals. It is one of the greateſt proofs of his reaſon, of which it may be ſaid to be the principal evidence. But by what rare art is it produced, and for how many different parts was it neceſſary to unite and concur with each other, to form the voice at the firſt motion of the ſoul!

I have a thought within me, that I deſire to communicate to others; or ſome doubt, in which I would be ſatisfied. Nothing is more of the nature of ſpirit, and conſequently more remote from ſenſe, than thought. In what manner therefore ſhall I be able to transfer it from myſelf to the perſons around me? If I cannot effect this, confined within myſelf, reduced to me alone, deprived of all commerce, diſcourſe, and conſolation, I ſuffer inexpreſſible torments: The moſt numerous aſſembly, the whole world itſelf, is to me no more than an hideous ſolitude. But the divine Providence has ſpared me all theſe pains, in affixing ſounds to my ideas, and in making thoſe ſounds ſubſervient to my will, by a natural mechaniſm never to be ſufficiently admired.

At the very inſtant, the exact moment, I would communicate my thoughts to others, my lungs, throat,

throat, tongue, palate, teeth, lips, and an infinity of other organs, which depend on, and are parts of, them, put themſelves in motion, and execute my orders with a rapidity, which almoſt prevents my deſires. The air from my lungs, varied and modified an infinity of ways, according to the diverſity of my ſentiments, iſſues forth to carry the ſound of them into the ears of my auditors, and to inform them of all that paſſes within me, and of all I deſire they ſhould know.

To inſtruct me in producing ſuch wonderful effects, have I had occaſion for tutors, leſſons, precepts? Nature, that is to ſay the divine Providence, has made every thing within me and for me. It has formed in my body all the organs neceſſary for producing ſuch wonderful effects; and that with a delicacy the ſenſes can hardly trace, and with a variety, multiplicity, diſtinction, art, and activity, which the naturaliſts confeſs above all expreſſion and admiration. This is not all. It has imparted to us an abſolute authority over all theſe organs, in regard to which our mere will is an indiſpenſible command that they never diſobey, and that immediately puts them in motion. Why are we not equally docile and ſubmiſſive to the voice of the Creator?

The manner of forming the voice includes, as I have obſerved, innumerable wonders. I ſhall only repeat one circumſtance in this place, from which we may judge of the reſt. It is extracted from the memoirs of the academy of ſciences, *An.* 1700.

In our throat, at the top of the Tracheanartery, that is, the canal through which the air enters and is reſpired from the lungs, there is a ſmall oval cleft, capable of being more or leſs extended, called the *Glotta*. As the opening of this little mouth is very ſmall, in proportion to the largeneſs of the Trachea, the air cannot paſs through it from the Trachea,

Trachea, without extremely augmenting its velocity, and precipitating its courſe. Hence, in paſſing, it violently agitates the ſmall parts of the two lips of the Glotta, ſets them in motion, and cauſes them to make vibrations, which produce ſound. This ſound, ſo formed, goes on to utter itſelf in the cavity of the mouth and noſtrils.

This mouth of the Trachea forms the different tones or notes, as well as ſounds; which it can only do by the different changes of its opening. It is oval, as I ſaid before, and capable of extending or cloſing itſelf in certain degrees; and thereby the fibres of the membranes, of which it is compoſed, become longer in low, and ſhorter in high, tones.

We find by Mr. Dodart's exact calculation of the tones or notes and half-notes of an ordinary voice, that for all the ſmall parts of tone with which it can raiſe an octave without ſtraining itſelf, for the more or leſs force it can give ſound without changing the tone or note, we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe that the little diameter of the *Glotta*, which is at moſt a line, or the twelfth of an inch, and which changes its length with all theſe changes, muſt be, and actually is, divided into 9632 parts; that even theſe parts are not all equal, and that conſequently ſome are much leſs than the $\frac{1}{9632}$ part of a line. By what means could the art of man attain to ſo fine and exquiſite diviſions! And is it not amazing, that nature itſelf was capable of executing them? On the other ſide, it is no leſs ſurpriſing that the ear, which has ſo juſt a ſenſe of tones, perceives, when the voice changes its notes ever ſo little, a difference, of which the origin is no more than the $\frac{1}{9632}$ part of leſs than a line, or twelfth of an inch.

The ear itſelf; can we ever be weary of conſidering its ſtructure, framed in an admirable manner to collect on all ſides, in its winding cavities, the

the flying impreſſions and undulations of ſound, and to determine them afterwards by a pleaſing ſenſation to the internal organ of hearing? It is for the naturaliſts to explain theſe wonders: But it is ours to admire with gratitude their infinite advantages, which we almoſt every moment enjoy, without reflecting much upon them. What manner of people would a nation of mutes be, who ſhould inhabit the ſame place, with no power to impart their thoughts to each other, but by ſigns and geſtures; nor to communicate their wants, their doubts, their difficulties, their joy, their ſorrow, in a word, all the ſentiments of their ſouls, in which the life of a rational creature properly conſiſts.

WRITING is another wonder, which comes very near that of *Speech*, and which adds a new value to it, from the extent it gives the uſe to be made of ſpeech, and the permanence or kind of perpetuity ſpeech derives from it. This invention is perfectly well deſcribed in the fine verſes of Lucan:

Phœnices primi, famæ ſi creditur, uſi
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.

If fame ſpeak true, and facts believ'd of old,
Phœnicia's ſons did firſt the art unfold
Diſcourſe in uncouth figures to confine,
And ſound and ſenſe to image and deſign.

It is ſtill better expreſſed in Brebeuf's tranſlation, which riſes conſiderably upon the original:

C'eſt de * lui que nous vient cet art ingenieux
De peindre la parole, & de parler aux yeux;
Et par les trait divers de figures tracées,
Donner de la couler & du corps aux penſees.

* *Cadmus the Phœnician.*

From him deſcended firſt the fine device
To paint the voice, and to diſcourſe the eyes;
In forms and colours ſenſe to cloath he taught,
And all the various features of a thought.

It is * this invention, which inables us to correſpond and diſcourſe with the abſent, and to tranſfer our thoughts and opinions to them, notwithſtanding the remoteſt diſtance of places. The tongue, which is the principal inſtrument and organ of ſpeech, has no ſhare in this equally uſeful and agreeable commerce. The hand, inſtructed by uſe to trace ſenſible characters upon paper, lends it its aid, makes itſelf its interpreter, mute as it is, and becomes in it's place the vehicle of diſcourſe.

It is to the ſame invention, as Theodoretus further obſerves, whoſe words I have juſt before quoted, that we are indebted for the ineſtimable treaſure of the writings come down to us, and which have imparted to us the knowledge *not only* of the arts, ſciences, and all paſt facts, but, what is of infinitely greater value, of the truths and myſteries of religion.

It is not eaſy to comprehend how men have been able to compoſe, out of twenty-five or thirty letters at moſt, that infinite variety of words, which, having no reſemblance in themſelves to what paſſes in our minds, do however diſcloſe all the ſecrets of them to others, and make thoſe, who could not otherwiſe penetrate our ſenſe, underſtand all we

* Ejuſdem beneficio abſentibus converſamur; & qui multorum dierum itinere diſtamus, atque immenſis manſionum ſpatiis & intervallis ſejungimur, ingeniorum concepta & animorum ſententias nobis invicem per manus tranſmittimus. Et lingua quidem, quæ primarium orationis organum eſt, otioſa ceſſat. Sermoni autem dextra ancillatur, quæ calamo arrepto, quod nobis cum amico tranſigendum erat negotium, papyro aut chartæ inſcribit; & ſermonis vehiculum eſt, non os, nec lingua, ſed manus, quæ longi temporis uſu artem edocuit, & alimentorum compoſitionem ſeu ſtructuram probè edocta eſt. *Theod. de Provid. orat.* 4.

con-

conceive, and all the different affections of our ſouls. Let us imagine ourſelves in the countries, whither the invention of writing has not reached, or where it is not practiſed: What ignorance! what ſtupidity! what barbariſm do we not ſee! Can ſuch people be called men? The reader may conſult the learned diſſertation of Mr. Freret upon *the* * *principles of the art of writing*; which contains a great abundance of very curious knowledge.

Let us not bluſh to own it, and let us render due homage of gratitude to him, to whom alone we are indebted for the double advantage of ſpeech and writing. Only God could teach mankind to eſtabliſh certain figures to ſignify all ſounds or words.

And theſe are the firſt objects of grammar, which, as I have already ſaid, is the art of ſpeaking and writing correctly. It was infinitely more eſteemed and cultivated with much greater attention by the Greeks and Romans, than with us, amongſt whom it is fallen into great contempt, and almoſt generally neglected. This difference of ſentiments and conduct in this point, ariſes from thoſe two nations having beſtowed conſiderable time and particular application in the ſtudy of their own tongue; whereas we very ſeldom learn ours by rudiments, which is certainly a great defect in our uſual method of inſtructing youth.

We are ſurpriſed to read in Quintilian an exalted praiſe of grammar, which he ſays † is neceſſary to youth, agreeable to age, a delightful employment in retirement, and of all ſtudies, that which is attended with more utility than it promiſes. This is not the idea we form of it. And indeed it was of

* *Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions, Vol. VI.*

† Neceſſaria pueris, jucunda ſenibus, dulcis ſecretorum comes, & quæ vel ſola omni ſtudiorum genere plus habet operis quam oſtentationis. *Quint.* l. 4. c. 4.

far greater extent amongſt the antients than we give it. It did not confine itſelf to the laying down of rules for ſpeaking, reading, and writing correctly, which is certainly a very important part of it. The underſtanding and explication of the poets were one of it's branches, and we are not ignorant how many things that ſtudy neceſſarily includes. It added another part, which ſuppoſes a great fund of erudition and knowledge: this was *Criticiſm*. I ſhall ſoon ſhew in what it conſiſted.

That kind of grammarians, called alſo *Philologers*, *Philologi*, were not confounded with the *Grammatiſts*, *Grammatiſtæ ſive Literatores*, whoſe ſole employment was to teach children the firſt elements of the Greek or Latin tongues. For which reaſon the latter did not enjoy the immunities or other privileges granted by the emperors to the grammarians.

I ſhall relate here in a few words what hiſtory tells us concerning thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in this way, either amongſt the Greeks or Romans. Mr. Capperonier, my brother, as fellow of the royal college, who has perfectly ſtudied all that relates to grammar, has been ſo good to communicate ſome of his remarks upon that ſubject to me.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE I.

GRECIAN GRAMMARIANS.

I SHALL not enter into an examination of the origin of the Greek letters. Thoſe who deſire to be informed upon that head, may conſult the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres, in which it is treated with great erudition by the late Abbé Renaudot. I adhere to the common opinion of almoſt all the Greek and Latin authors, who agree, that Cadmus brought the firſt letters from Phœnicia, and communicated them to the Greeks, that were afterwards called Ionic, of which the origin is ſufficiently denoted by their reſemblance to the Hebrew and Phœnician alphabets. I ſhall confine myſelf in this place to ſpeaking of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt with regard to the Greek grammar. Vol. II.

PLATO is believed to be the firſt author in whom any footſteps of the art of grammar are to be found. And accordingly in his *Philæbus* he ſhews the method of teaching the knowledge of the letters. In his *Cratylus*, he treats the antient and famous queſtion, whether the ſignification of words be natural to them, or arbitrary, and founded ſolely upon the will of mankind, who has thought fit to annex certain ideas to words? He divides words into two ſpecies: the primitive, which he aſcribes to God; and the derivative, which are of human invention. He inſinuates, that the Greek tongue is derived from the Hebrew, which he calls the language of the Barbarians. In the ſame dialogue, he examines the origin and etymology of ſeveral nouns; for which reaſon Phavorinus ſays, in Diogenes Laërtius, that Plato was the firſt that obſerved the propriety and uſe of grammar. Pag. 18.

It ſeems, however, that ARISTOTLE might be conſidered as the firſt author of this ſcience. He has diſtributed words into certain claſſes; of which he has examined the different kinds, and particular properties. The twentieth chapter of his Poetics begins with this enumeration: "The poetical "ſtyle or elocution contains theſe eight parts, "the element, the ſyllable, the conjunction, the "noun, the verb, the article, the caſe or inflexion, "the propoſition or phraſe."

In vit. Epic. Hermippus, cited by Diogenes Laërtius, tells us, that EPICURUS taught grammar before reading the books of Democritus engaged him in the ſtudy of philoſophy.

Lib. 6. c. 6. Quintilian ſays, that the Stoic philoſophers made a great many additions to what Ariſtotle and Theodactes had introduced concerning grammar. Amongſt thoſe additions he reckons the prepoſitions, the pronoun, the participle, the adverb, and the interjection.

The great etymologiſt Suidas, Heſychius, Stephanus Byzantinus, Athenæus, Harpocration, and other *polygraphical Philologers*, mention ſeveral antient grammarians. of whom ſome lived after Ariſtotle and Alexander the Great, and others in the Auguſtan age. We ſhall ſay ſomething of the moſt celebrated of them.

PHILETES, of the iſland of Cos, may be placed in the firſt claſs of theſe, whom Ptolomy, the firſt of that name, king of Egypt, made præceptor to his ſon Ptolomy Philadelphus.

HECATÆUS of Abdera, who compoſed a treatiſe upon the poems of Homer and Heſiod.

LYNCÆUS of Samos, the diſciple of Theophraſtus.

ZENODOTUS of Epheſus, who firſt corrected the faults which had crept into the works of Homer.

CALLI-

CALLIMACHUS, uncle on the mother's ſide to that Callimachus, ſome of whoſe poems are ſtill extant. The celebrated ERATOSTHENES, of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak under the title of Philologer, was one of his diſciples.

ARISTOPHANES of Byzantium was the ſcholar of Eratoſthenes, and lived in the time of Ptolomy Philopator. He was in great eſtimation.

ARISTARCHUS, the diſciple of Ariſtophanes, obſcured by his reputation all the grammarians who preceded him, or lived in his own times. He was born in Samothracia, and had for his country by adoption the city of Alexandria. He was highly eſteemed by Ptolomy Philometor, who confided the education of his ſon to his care. He applied himſelf extremely to criticiſm, and reviſed Homer's poems with incredible, but perhaps too magiſterial an exactneſs. For, when a verſe did not pleaſe him, he treated it as ſuppoſitious and interpolated: *Homeri verſum negat, quem non probat.* It is ſaid he marked the verſes he condemned as ſuppoſititious, with the figure of a ſpit on the ſide of them; from whence came the word ὀβελίζειν. Cic. Epiſt. 11. l. 3. ad Famil.

How great ſoever the reputation and authority of Ariſtarchus were, appeals were often made from his decrees, and liberty taken to condemn this great critic's taſte, who upon ſome occaſions determined that ſuch and ſuch verſes ſhould be tranſpoſed from the Iliad to the Odyſſey. Tranſpoſitions of this kind are ſeldom very happy, and generally argue more preſumption than judgment. Zenodotus was appointed to reviſe and examine the criticiſms of Ariſtarchus. Suid.

In the opinion of ſome authors, it was this Ariſtarchus that divided the two great poems of Homer, each into as many books as there are letters in the alphabet, and gave each book the name of a letter.

He worked alſo upon Pindar, Aratus, and other poets.

He had abundance of diſputations in Pergamus with Crates the grammarian, of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

Lib. 1. Epiſt. 10. ad Attic. In Art. Poet.

Cicero calls Atticus his Ariſtarchus, becauſe, as a good friend and excellent critic, he uſed to reviſe and correct his harangues. Horace alſo makes uſe of the ſame name, to ſignify an exact and judicious critic:

Vir bonus & prudens verſus reprehendet inertes, &c.
Fiet Ariſtarchus, nec dicet: Cur ego amicum
Offendam in nugis?

Quintilian * informs us, that theſe grammarian critics, not only took upon them to note, with a kind of cenſorial authority, the verſes they did not approve, and to ſtrike out whole books from an author's works, as offspring unjuſtly aſcribed to him; but carried their power ſo far, as to aſſign authors their ranks, diſtinguiſhing ſome with peculiar honours, leaving many in the common herd, and entirely degrading others.

What I have ſaid of Ariſtarchus ſhews that criticiſm, in which the principal merit of the antient grammarians conſiſted, was principally intent in diſcovering the true author of a work, or diſtinguiſhing the writings falſely aſcribed to him from ſuch as were really his; and even in thoſe which were admitted to be genuine, in rejecting the paſſages which a different hand had deſignedly inſerted; in fine, to explain what was moſt beauti-

* Miſtum his omnibus judicium eſt. Quo quidem ita ſeverè ſunt uſi veteres Grammatici, ut non verſus modò cenſoria quadam virgula notare, & libros, qui falsò viderentur inſcripti, tanquam ſubditicios ſummovere familia permiſerint ſibi: ſed auctores alios in ordinem redegerint, alios omnino exemerint numero. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 4.

ful,

ful, moſt ſolid, and moſt remarkable in works of wit, and to aſſign the reaſons for their judgment. Now all this required abundance of reading, erudition, taſte, and, above all, a juſt and refined diſcernment. To know the uſefulneſs of this art, and have a right ſenſe of it's value, we need only call to mind certain nations and ages, in which a profound ignorance reigned univerſally, and, for want of critical knowledge, the groſſeſt abſurdities, and the moſt palpable falſifications of all kinds, paſſed for inconteſtable truths. It is the glory of our age, and the effect of the beſt ſtudies, to have entirely diſpelled all thoſe clouds and darkneſs, by the lights of ſolid and judicious criticiſm.

CRATES of Mallos, a city of Cilicia, was Ariſtarchus's contemporary. He was ſent to Rome in quality of ambaſſador, by Attalus II. king of Pergamus. He introduced in that great city the ſtudy of grammar, which he had always made his principal occupation. He left nine books of corrections upon Homer's poems. Sueton. de Illuſt. Gram.

After his death there were ſeveral other Greek critics at Rome; amongſt the reſt the two Tyrannions.

TYRANNION, a famous grammarian in Pompey's time, was of Amiſus in the kingdom of Pontus. He called himſelf at firſt Theophraſtus: but, from his violent behaviour in reſpect to his companions in ſtudy, and perhaps his diſciples, he was ſirnamed Tyrannion. Suidas.

He was the diſciple of Dionyſius of Thrace at Rhodes, and fell into the hands of Lucullus, when that general of the Romans had put Mithridates to flight, and poſſeſſed himſelf of part of his dominions. This captivity was no diſadvantage to Tyrannion, as it gave him the opportunity of rendering himſelf illuſtrious at Rome, and of acquiring conſiderable riches. He employed them, amongſt other-

other uſes, in collecting a library, according to Suidas, of more than thirty thouſand volumes. Charles Stephens, and other authors, ſay only three thouſand; which is moſt probable.

Tyrannion's care in collecting books contributed very uſefully to preſerving the works of Ariſtotle. The fate of thoſe works was ſomething ſingular, as I have related elſewhere. Vol. X.

His underſtanding, and particular induſtry in this reſpect, inabled him to do Cicero a very agreeable ſervice, of which he was highly ſenſible. Every body knows the fondneſs which perſons of ſtudy and ſcience have for their books. They are, in a manner, their friends of all hours, their faithful companions; that entertain them agreeably at all times; that ſometimes ſupply them with ſerious employment, and ſometimes with neceſſary recreation; that go with them into the country, and when they travel; and in times of adverſity are almoſt their ſole conſolation. Cicero's baniſhment had torn him from his dear library. It ſeemed to have been ſenſible of it's maſter's diſgrace; and, during his abſence, many of his books had been diſperſed. One of his firſt cares, after his return, was to retrieve what remained of them, which he found more abundant than he expected. He commiſſioned Tyrannion to put them in order, and to diſpoſe them into their ſeveral claſſes, in which he ſucceeded perfectly well. Cicero, in a letter, wherein he invites his friend Atticus to his houſe, aſſures him that he will be charmed with the fine manner in which Tyrannion had diſpoſed his library: *Perbelle feceris, ſi ad nos veneris. Offendes deſignationem mirificam in librorum meorum bibliotheca, quorum reliquiæ multò meliores ſunt quam putaveram.* That dear friend, at his requeſt, had ſent him two of his ſlaves, very expert in what related to books, and in paſting them, called for that reaſon *glutinatores.* Epiſt. 4. Libri 4. ad Attic.

tores. The books of the antients, as every body knows, were not bound like ours, but were long rolls, conſiſting of many leaves of parchment or vellum, either tied or paſted together. Tyrannion had ſet theſe two ſlaves to work, who had done wonders: and my library diſpoſed in ſo fine an order, ſays Cicero, ſeems to have given a new ſoul to my houſe: *Poſtea quam Tyrannio mihi libros diſpoſuit, mens addita videtur meis ædibus: qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionyſii & Menophili tui fuit.* Epiſt. 8. Libri 4. ad Attic.

The merit of Tyrannion was not confined to diſpoſing books; he knew how to uſe them. When Cæſar was in Africa, making war againſt Juba, Cicero and Atticus had promiſed to fix a day for hearing Tyrannion read a book of his compoſing. Atticus, having heard it read without his friend, was reproached by him for it: "What, ſays Cicero "to him, did I ſeveral times refuſe to hear that "book read, becauſe you were abſent, and would "not you ſtay to ſhare that pleaſure with me? But "I forgive you for the admiration you expreſs of "it." What then muſt a book ſo agreeable, and at the ſame time ſo worthy of being praiſed, and even admired by ſuch a man as Atticus, have been? It was only remarks upon grammar, upon the different accents, the quantity of ſyllables, and what is called proſody. Would one believe, that perſons of ſuch extraordinary merit could find any pleaſure in works of ſuch a kind? They went much farther, and compoſed tracts of the ſame nature themſelves, as Quintilian relates of Cæſar and Meſſala, the firſt of whom wrote a treatiſe upon analogy, and the other upon words and letters. Epiſt. 2. l. 12. ad Attic. A. M. 3958. Ibid. Ep. 6. Lib. 1. c. 4.

Cicero muſt have had an high value for Tyrannion, as he permitted him * to open a grammar-

* Quinctus tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregiè. Hoc nunc magis animadverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me. *Epiſt.* 4. l. 2. *ad Quinct. frat.*

ſchool

ſchool in his houſe, where he taught this art to ſome young Romans, and, amongſt others, to his brother Quintus's, and no doubt to Cicero's own ſon.

TYRANNION, ſo named from his having been the former's diſciple, was otherwiſe called Diocles. He was a native of Phœnicia, and was taken priſoner in the war between Anthony and Auguſtus, and bought by Dymas, one of the emperor's freedmen. He was given to Terentia, who made him free: ſhe had been Cicero's wife, who repudiated her. Tyrannion opened a ſchool in Rome, and compoſed ſixty-eight books. He wrote one to prove, that the Latin was derived from the Greek tongue; and another, which contained a correction of Homer's poems.

DIONYSIUS THE THRACIAN was the diſciple of Ariſtarchus. He taught grammar at Rome in Pompey's time, and compoſed ſeveral books upon that ſubject, many treatiſes upon others, and a great number of commentaries upon various authors. Mr. Fabricius has cauſed one of his grammars to be printed, in the ſeventh volume of his Bibliotheca Græca.

This piece may give us ſome idea of the method of the antient Greek grammarians. The author divides his work into ſix parts. 1. Reading according to the accents. 2. The explanation of the tropes and figures in poetry. 3. The interpretation of the dialects, extraordinary words, and certain hiſtorical paſſages. 4. The etymology of words. 5. The exact knowledge of * analogy. 6. The manner of judging poems, which Dionyſius conſiders as the moſt refined and moſt important part of his art. After having explained the

* Analogy, *according to Vaugelas, is a conformity to things already eſtabliſhed, which we propoſe as our model, in making words or phraſes like words or phraſes already eſtabliſhed.*

three

three accents, the acute, the grave, and the circumflex; he goes on to treat the different method of pointing. He even gives, in the courſe of his work, the definition of the term *Rhapſody*, in the ſenſe of the antient Homeriſts, who holding a ſmall ſtick of laurel-wood in their hand, ſung detached pieces of Homer's poems. From thence he proceeds to the explanation of the letters, which he divides into vowels and conſonants, into *hemiphonæ* or half-vowels, *aphonæ* or *cacophonæ*; that is to ſay, bad ſounding, becauſe he ſuppoſes that they have leſs ſound than the others. And laſtly, he ſubdivides the *aphonæ* into *tenues*, *mediæ*, and *aſpiratæ*, without forgetting the *double* conſonants, and the *liquids* or immutables. After which he treats the long, ſhort, and common ſyllables. He next explains the *parts of ſpeech*, which he reduces to eight, the noun, the verb, the participle, the article, the pronoun, the prepoſition, the adverb, and the conjunction. This author conſiders the interjection as a kind of adverb. Having explained the ſix common conjugations called *Barytoni*, he obſerved, that ſome grammarians add a ſeventh, of which the terminations were in ξω and ψω, as ἀλέξω and ἔψω. The circumflex verbs in ίω, άω, όω; and the four verbs in μι are not forgot.

This detail of grammar appears tedious and uſeleſs to us; but the antients had a different opinion of it. There was no part of it, even to the pointing and accents, of which they did not make very great uſe.

They knew that ſtopping or pointing well gives perſpicuity, grace, and harmony to diſcourſe; and that it aſſiſts the eyes and minds of readers and hearers, by making the order, ſeries, connexion, and diſtinction of parts more evident; in rendering the pronunciation natural, and in preſcribing it juſt bounds and pauſes of different kinds, as the

ſenſe

ſenſe requires. It is to the grammarians we have this obligation. The learned, who conſult the antient manuſcripts, in which there are neither comma's, points, *a linea*, nor any other diſtinction, experience the confuſion and difficulty that ariſe from ſo vicious a manner of writing. This part of grammar is almoſt generally neglected amongſt us, and often even amongſt the learned: which however is a ſtudy of no more than half an hour or an hour at the utmoſt.

I ſay as much of the accents. The accent is an elevation of the voice upon one of the ſyllables of a word, after which the voice neceſſarily falls. This elevation of the voice is called the *acute* accent, marked, thus (´); and the *grave* accent, or lowering of the voice, thus (`). But becauſe in the Greek and Latin tongues there were certain long ſyllables, upon which the voice was both raiſed and depreſſed, they invented a third accent, which they called the *circumflex*, at firſt marked thus (^), and afterwards thus (~), which comprehended both tones.

The grammarians introduced accents in writing, (for they are not of the earlieſt antiquity) to diſtinguiſh the ſignification of ſome words otherwiſe equivocal, to make the cadences more harmonious, to vary the tones, and to direct when to raiſe or depreſs the voice.

We uſe them alſo in the French language, but in a different manner. The *acute* accent is always put over the é ſhut, as *temerité*, &c; the *grave* accent is over the è open, followed with the letter s at the end of words; *procès*, &c. The *circumflex* accent is put over certain long (*) vowels; *depôt*, *enfant mâle*, &c.

* *Or from being uſed at firſt to denote the eliſion of the letter s, when written as pronounced: All the old French books have* depoſt, maſle.

There

There are a thouſand obſervations of a like nature, to which we lend little or no attention. Amongſt the Greeks and Romans, all children, from their earlieſt years, learned the rules of grammar exactly, which became natural to them by long uſe. From whence the meaneſt of the people at Athens and Rome knew, to a tittle, the leaſt defect of the orators or actors, in regard to accent or quantity, and were ſenſibly diſguſted at it.

I omit a great number of celebrated grammarians, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their great learning.

JULIUS POLLUX of Naucratia, a city of Egypt, has left us his *Onomaſticon*, a work highly eſteemed by many of the learned. He lived in the ſecond century, in the reign of the Emperor Commodus.

In the interval of time, between the ſeventh century and the taking of Conſtantinople by Mahomet the Second, in 1453, we find ſeveral learned grammarians, who took abundance of pains to explain the Greek authors, and render them intelligible. Such are amongſt others HESYCHIUS, the author of an excellent dictionary, of great uſe for underſtanding the poets: THE GREAT ETYMOLOGIST, SUIDAS, who compoſed a great hiſtorical and grammatical dictionary, in which there is abundance of erudition: JOHN TZETZES, author of an hiſtory in thirteen books, under the name of *Chiliades*; and his brother ISAAC, commentator upon Lycophron: EUSTATHIUS, archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, author of a large comment upon Homer; and many others.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE II.

LATIN GRAMMARIANS.

SUETONIUS, in his book *Of Illuſtrious Grammarians*, tells us, that grammar of old was ſo far from being in honour, that it was not ſo much as in uſe at Rome, becauſe the antient Romans valued themſelves much more upon being warlike than learned; and that Crates of Mallos, of whom we have ſpoken above, was the firſt that introduced the ſtudy of grammar at Rome. Thoſe antient grammarians, at the ſame time, taught rhetoric, or at leaſt prepared their ſcholars for that ſtudy by preliminary exerciſes.

Amongſt the twenty illuſtrious grammarians mentioned by Suetonius, we find:

AURELIUS OPILIUS, who at firſt taught philoſophy, afterwards rhetoric, and at laſt grammar. I have already obſerved, that this art was of much greater extent than with us.

MARCUS ANTONIUS GNIPHON, who alſo taught rhetoric in the houſe of Julius Cæſar, when a child. Cicero, during his prætorſhip, heard his lectures.

ATTEIUS, ſirnamed the Philologer. Salluſt and Aſinius Pollio were his diſciples.

VERRIUS FLACCUS, who compoſed a collection of words of difficult conſtruction, abridged afterwards by Feſtus Pompeius. He was præceptor to Auguſtus's grandſons.

CAIUS JULIUS HYGINIUS, Auguſtus's freedman and library-keeper; to whom a treatiſe upon mythology, and another upon poetical aſtronomy, are aſcribed.

MARCUS POMPONIUS MARCELLUS, who preſumed to criticiſe upon a ſpeech of Tiberius. And, when

when Atteius Capito endeavoured to juſtify it, by maintaining, that the word criticiſed by this grammarian was Latin, or if it was not, yet being adopted, it would be ſo; Pomponius made that memorable anſwer, *You can make men free of the city, Cæſar, but not words.*

REMMIUS PALÆMON of Vicentia, who, in the reigns of the emperors Tiberius and Claudius, having rendered himſelf famous by his great erudition, and facility in ſpeaking and making verſes extemporaneouſly, diſgraced himſelf as much by his bad morals and arrogance.

Beſides the antient grammarians, whoſe lives Suetonius has abridged, there were others, whoſe names do honour to this art, though they did not teach it in any other manner than by their writings; as Varro, Cicero, Meſſala, and Julius Cæſar; for thoſe great perſonages thought it no diſhonour to themſelves to treat on ſuch ſubjects.

To avoid prolixity, I omit many learned grammarians, of whom ſeveral will recur in the enſuing chapter, where I ſhall treat of Philologers. Thoſe who may be curious to collect all the Latin authors upon this ſubject, will find them in the collection of the antient grammarians, publiſhed by Elias Putſchius in 1605, two volumes *in quarto*. An excellent book, and very neceſſary to all thoſe who teach the Latin tongue, is *the Minerva* of Sanctius, with the notes of Scioppius and Perizonius.

SHORT REFLECTIONS.

Upon the progreſs and alteration of languages.

IT is ſurpriſing to conſider the manner in which languages are formed, augmented, and attain their perfection; and how, after a certain courſe of years, they degenerate and corrupt.

God, the ſole author of the primitive tongues, (and how could man have invented them?) introduced the uſe of them to puniſh and fruſtrate the fooliſh undertaking of men, who, before they diſperſed themſelves into different regions, were for rendering themſelves immortal by erecting the moſt ſuperb ſtructure that had ever appeared upon the face of the earth. Till then mankind, who in a manner formed but one family, ſpoke alſo but one language. On a ſudden, by the moſt ſurpriſing of prodigies, God obliterated from the human mind the antient traces and remembrances of all the words it knew, and ſubſtituted new ones in their ſtead, which in an inſtant formed new languages. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that in diſperſing themſelves into different countries, each joined himſelf with thoſe whoſe language he underſtood, as they did his.

I ſhall confine myſelf to the ſons of Javan, (in the Hebrew *Javan* is the ſame as *Ion*) from whom deſcended the Ionians, that is to ſay, the Greeks. Behold then the Greek language eſtabliſhed among them, entirely different from the Hebrew, (I ſay this, on the ſuppoſition that the Hebrew was the language of the firſt man) different, not only in reſpect of words, but the manner of declining nouns and conjugating verbs, inflexions, turns, phraſes, number, and ſound or cadence. For it is remarkable, that God has given each language a peculiar genius and character, which diſtinguiſhes it from allothers, and of which the effect is ſenſible, though the reaſon of it be almoſt infinite and inexhauſtible. To the multitude of Greek words, with which their memory was furniſhed in theſe firſt times, uſe, neceſſity, invention, the exerciſe of arts, and perhaps even convenience and embelliſhment, occaſioned the addition of new ones. The Greek *radices (roots or radical words)* are computed

Raj. Græc. c. Port Royal.

to

to be two thouſand one hundred and fifty-ſix. The derivative or compound words very much augment that number, and are multiplied to infinity: no language is near ſo copious and abundant as the Greek.

Hitherto we have in a manner only ſeen the matter of the Greek language, that is to ſay, the words of which it is compoſed, that were almoſt ſolely the gift of the Creator and neceſſity. The uſe, connexion, and diſpoſition of theſe words, had occaſion for the aids of art. It is obſerved, that, amongſt thoſe who uſed this language, ſome ſpoke better than others, and expreſſed their thoughts in a clearer, more compact, emphatical, and agreeable manner. Theſe were taken for models, were ſtudied with care, and had obſervations made upon their diſcourſes, whether in writing, or only by word of mouth. And this gave birth to what we call grammar, which is no more than a collection of obſervations upon a language: a very important, or rather abſolutely neceſſary, work, for fixing the rules of a tongue, reducing them to a method that facilitates the ſtudy of them, clearing up their doubts and difficulties, explaining and removing bad uſes and modes of ſpeech, and conducting, by ſenſible and judicious reflections, to all the beauty of which it is ſuſceptible.

We know nothing of the beginning nor progreſs of the Greek tongue. The poems of Homer are the moſt antient work we have in that language; and the elocution of them is ſo perfect, that no future age has been capable of adding any thing to it. This perfection of language ſubſiſted and preſerved itſelf longer amongſt the Greeks than any other nation of the world. Theocritus lived above ſix hundred years after Homer. All the poets who flouriſhed during that long interval, except a very ſmall number, are eſteemed excellent with regard

to language, in their ſeveral ways. The ſame may be almoſt ſaid of the orators, hiſtorians, and philoſophers. The univerſal and prevailing taſte of the Greeks for arts, the eſteem they always had for eloquence, their care in cultivating their language, which was the only one they learned, diſdaining generally the Roman, tho' ſpoken by their maſters; all this conſpired to ſupport the Greek tongue in its purity during many ages, till the tranſlation of the empire to Conſtantinople. The mixture of Latin, and the decline of the empire, which induced the decay of the arts, ſoon after occaſioned a ſenſible alteration in the Greek language.

The Romans, ſolely intent upon eſtabliſhing and ſecuring their conqueſts by the method of arms, had little regard at firſt to the embelliſhment and improvement of their tongue. The ſmall remains, which we have of the annals of the pontiffs, the laws of the twelve tables, and ſome other monuments, few in number, ſhew how groſs and imperfect it was in thoſe early times. It afterwards, by little and little, grew more copious, and enlarged itſelf inſenſibly. It borrowed a great number of words from the Greek, which it dreſſed after its own mode, and in a manner naturaliſed; an advantage the Greeks had not. We may perceive at this day the taſte of the Greek language in the old Latin poets, ſuch as Pacuvius, Ennius, and Plautus, eſpecially in the compound words with which they abound. What we have of the diſcourſes of Cato, the Gracchi, and the other orators of their times, ſhews a language already of great copiouſneſs and energy, and that wanted nothing but beauty, diſpoſition, and harmony.

The more frequent communication Rome had with Greece, after having conquered it, introduced an entire change in it with reſpect to language, as well as taſte for eloquence and poetry, two things which

which ſeem inſeparable. To compare Plautus with Terence, and Lucretius with Virgil, one would be apt to believe them many ages remote from each other; and however they were divided only by ſome few years. The epocha of reviving, or rather eſtabliſhing, pure Latinity at Rome, may be fixed at Terence, and continued to the death of Auguſtus; ſomething more than an hundred and fifty years. This was the happy age of Rome with regard to polite learning and arts, or as it is called the golden [*and Auguſtan*] age, in which a crowd of authors of the higheſt merit carried the purity and elegance of diction to their utmoſt height, by writings entirely different as to ſtile and matter, but all equally diſtinguiſhed by pure Latinity and elevation of taſte.

This rapid progreſs of the Latin tongue will be leſs ſurpriſing, if we remember that ſuch perſons as Scipio Africanus the younger, and Lælius, on the one ſide, and Cicero and Cæſar on the other, did not diſdain, in the midſt of their important occupations, the former to lend their hands and pens to a comic poet, and the latter to compoſe treatiſes themſelves upon grammar.

This purity of language continually declined from the death of Auguſtus, as well as the taſte for ſound eloquence; for their fate is almoſt always the ſame. There needs no great diſcernment to perceive a ſenſible difference between the authors of the Auguſtan age, and thoſe who ſucceeded it. But two hundred years after the difference is exceſſive, as we may eaſily obſerve in reading the authors, who have written the hiſtory of Auguſtus. The purity of language was preſerved almoſt ſolely and that too not without ſome alteration) amongſt the civilians Ulpian, Papinian, Paulus, &c.

I do not know whether it were juſt to ſay the fate of language and that of taſte were always the

ſame. We have old French authors, as Marot, Amiot, Montaigne, and others, the reading of whom ſtill pleaſes infinitely, and, no doubt, will for ever pleaſe. What is it we love and eſteem in theſe authors? Not their language, becauſe in theſe days we could not ſuffer any thing like it. It is ſomething more eaſily conceived than expreſſed: a ſimple and genuine air, a fine tour of imagination, natural manners, a nobleneſs and majeſty of ſtile without affectation or bombaſt, and eſpecially the ſentiments of nature, which flow from, and reach, the heart: in a word, it is that taſte of antient Greece and Rome, which is of all ages and nations, and diffuſes through writings a certain ſalt, the ſpirit and delicacy of which every reader of genius perceives, whilſt it adds a new value to the force and ſolidity of the matter with which it is united.

But why does not this old language pleaſe ſtill? I ſpeak only in regard to words. We want abundance in our language, and theſe old authors have excellent ones; ſome clear, ſimple, and natural; and others full of force and energy. I always wiſhed, that ſome able hand would make a ſmall collection of both kinds, that is to ſay, of ſuch as we want, and might regain, to ſhew us our error in neglecting the progreſs and improvement of our language as we do, and to rebuke our ſtupid indolence in this point. For if the French tongue, otherwiſe rich and opulent, experiences on certain occaſions a kind of barrenneſs and poverty, it is to our own falſe delicacy we ſhould impute them. Why ſhould we not inrich it with new and excellent terms, which our own antient authors, or even the neighbouring nations, might ſupply, as we ſee the Engliſh actually do the ſame with great ſucceſs? I am ſenſible, that we ſhould be very diſcreet and reſerved in this point: but we ought not to carry our diſcretion to a narrow puſillanimity.

We

We have reaſon to believe, that our language has attained the higheſt perfection of which it is capable; and of this the honour of its being adopted into almoſt all the courts of Europe ſeems a glorious proof. If it be defective in any thing, it is, in my opinion, only with regard to a richer abundance; notwithſtanding good ſpeakers ſcarce perceive, that it wants any words for the expreſſion of thoughts; but it would admit a greater number. France had in the laſt age, and ſtill has, writers of diſtinguiſhed merit, highly capable of acquiring her this new advantage. But they reſpect and fear the public. They make it, with reaſon, a duty to conform to, and not to claſh with, its taſte. Hence, to avoid incurring its diſpleaſure, they hardly dare venture any new expreſſion, and leave the language in this point where they found it. It would therefore be incumbent on the public, for the honour of the language and nation, to be leſs delicate and ſevere; and alſo on authors, to become a little leſs timorous; but, I repeat it, great diſcretion and reſerve are always neceſſary in uſing this liberty.

But I do not perceive, that whilſt I venture my reflections upon our language in this manner, myſelf perhaps may ſeem wanting in reſpect for the public; which would be very contrary to my intention. I conclude this article with taking the liberty to acquaint the reader again, that this ſtudy is of great importance, and ſhould by no means be neglected. It is with joy I ſee the French grammar regularly taught in ſeveral claſſes of the univerſity. *That of Mr. Reſtaut.*

CHAPTER II.

OF PHILOLOGERS.

THOSE who have applied their ſtudies n examining, correcting, explaining, and publiſhing the antient authors, are called *Philologers:* they profeſs univerſal learning, including all ſciences and authors, in which antiently the principal and moſt noble part of the grammarian's art conſiſted. By philology therefore is underſtood a ſpecies of ſcience containing grammar, rhetoric, poetry, antiquities, hiſtory, philoſophy, and ſometimes even mathematics, phyſic, and civil law; without treating any of theſe ſubjects either in whole or in part, but occaſionally uſing all or any of them. I do not know for what reaſon this philology, which has done ſo much honour to the Scaligers, Salmaſius's, Cauſabons, Voſſius's, Sirmondius's, Gronovius's, &c. and which is ſtill ſo much cultivated in England, Germany, and Italy, is almoſt deſpiſed in France, where we ſet no value upon any thing beſides exact and perfect ſciences, ſuch as phyſics, geometry, &c. Our academy of Belles Lettres, which, under that name, includes all the ſpecies of erudition antient and modern, and publiſhes every year, in its memoirs, treatiſes upon all manner of ſubjects, may contribute very much to revive and augment this taſte for philology and erudition amongſt us. I ſhall here give a brief account of ſome of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in this kind of literature, mingling Greeks and Romans together.

ERATOST-

ERATOSTHENES.

Suetonius ſays, that Eratoſthenes was the firſt who was called a *Philologer*. He was a native of Cyrene, and became library-keeper of Alexandria. He lived in the time of Ptolomæus Philadelphus, and had applied himſelf to all kinds of ſcience, without thoroughly cultivating any one, as thoſe do who make one their ſole ſtudy in order to excel in it. This occaſioned his being nicknamed * *Beta*, becauſe, though not capable of aſpiring to the firſt rank in any particular ſcience, he had at leaſt attained the ſecond in all in general. He lived fourſcore years, and ſtarved himſelf to death, not being able to ſurvive the loſs of ſight with which he was afflicted. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him again elſewhere. Ariſtophanes of Byzantium, maſter of the famous critic Ariſtarchus, was his diſciple.

De Illuſtr. Grammat. c. 10.

Olymp. 146. Ant. J. C. 200.

Suidas.

VARRO.

Varro (*Marc. Terentius*) was eſteemed the moſt learned of all the Romans. He was born in the 636th year of Rome, and died in the 726th, at the age of ninety. He aſſures us himſelf, that he had compoſed almoſt five hundred volumes upon different ſubjects, of which he dedicated that upon the Latin tongue to Cicero. He wrote a treatiſe upon rural life, *De re ruſtica*, which is very much eſteemed. Both theſe pieces are come down to us.

A. M. 3619.

Apud Aul. Gell. l. 3. c. 10.

A. M. 3709.

St. Auſtin admires and extols in many places the vaſt erudition of this learned Roman. He has preſerved the plan of Varro's great work upon the Roman antiquities, conſiſting of forty-one books. It is of this work Cicero ſpeaks, addreſſing himſelf

* *The ſecond letter of the Greek alphabet.*

to

to Varro: "We * were before, ſays he, in a man-"ner ſtrangers, that did not know our way in our "own city. Your books have as it were ſet us "right, and informed us who, and where, we "are." After the enumeration Cicero makes of them, St. Auguſtine cries out with admiration: "Varro † read ſo great a number of books, that "it is wonderful he could find time to compoſe "any himſelf, and however compoſed ſo many, "that one can hardly conceive how one man "could read them all."

It was difficult to write ſo many works in an elegant and polite ſtile. And the ſame St. Auſtin obſerves, ‡ that Cicero praiſes Varro as a man of penetrating wit and profound learning, not as one of great eloquence and refinement of diction.

ASCONIUS PEDIANUS.

Aſconius Pedianus, cited by Pliny the *naturaliſt*, and by Quintilian, lived in the reigns of Nero and Veſpaſian. We have a fragment of his notes or comments upon ſeveral of Cicero's orations. He may be ſaid to have been the model of moſt of the Latin critics and ſcholiaſts who ſucceeded him, and of ſuch as applied themſelves after him in explaining authors.

* Nos, inquit, in noſtra urbe peregrinantes erranteſque, tanquam hoſpites, tui libri quaſi domum reduxerunt, ut poſſemus aliquando qui & ubi eſſemus cognoſcere. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 9.

† Varro tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei ſcribere vacaſſe miremur; tam multa vix quemquam legere potuiſſe credamus. *De Civit. Dei*, l. 6. c. 2.

‡ Cum Marco Varrone, homine, inquit, omnium facilè acutiſſimo, & ſine ullâ dubitatione doctiſſimo. Non ait, eloquentiſſimo vel facundiſſimo; quoniam re vera in hac facultate multum impar eſt. *S. Auguſt.* ibid.

PLINY

PLINY THE ELDER.

Pliny *(C. Plinius ſecundus)* called the elder, might be ranked amongſt the hiſtorians, or rather amongſt the philoſophers who have treated of phyſics. But the multiplicity of the ſubjects he ſpeaks of, in his books of natural hiſtory, made me conceive I might rank him amongſt the philologers.

Pliny was born at Verona, and lived in the firſt century, under Veſpaſian and Titus, who honoured him with their eſteem, and employed him in different affairs. He ſerved in the armies with diſtinction, was admitted into the college of augurs, was ſent governor into Spain; and notwithſtanding the time ſpent in his employments, he found enough for application to a great number of works, which unfortunately are loſt, except his *natural hiſtory* in thirty-ſeven books: * A work, ſays Pliny the younger, of infinite extent and erudition, and almoſt as various as nature itſelf: Stars, planets; hail, winds, rain; trees, plants, flowers; metals, minerals; animals of every kind, terreſtrial, aquatic, volatile; geographical deſcriptions of countries and cities; he takes in all, and leaves nothing in nature or art without an induſtrious examination. To compoſe this work, he peruſed almoſt two thouſand volumes.

He takes † care to inform the reader, that he took the time for this work, not out of that which the public affairs he was charged with required, but his hours of reſt, and ſuch only as would otherwiſe have been loſt. Pliny the younger, his nephew, tells us, that he led a ſimple and frugal life, Ep. 5. 13.

* Opus diffuſum, eruditum, nec minus varium quàm ipſa natura. *Plin. Epiſt.* 5. l. 3.

† Succeſſivis temporibus iſta curamus, id eſt, nocturnis. *Præf.*

ſlept

ſlept little, and made the moſt of his time, at his meals, making ſomebody to read to him; and in travelling, having always his books, tablets, and copyiſt by his ſide: for he read nothing without making extracts from it. He conceived, that managing his time in this manner was adding to the length of his life, the duration of which is much abridged by ſleep: *Pluribus horis vivimus: profecto enim vita vigilia eſt.* *In Præfat.*

Pliny was far from having the low vanity of ſome authors, who are not aſhamed to copy others without quoting them. "Probity * and honour, "in my opinion, ſays he, require, that we ſhould "pay a kind of homage to thoſe, whoſe learning "and knowledge are uſeful to us, by a ſincere and "ingenuous confeſſion of it." He compares an author, who makes an advantage of another's labours without owning it, to a perſon who borrows money and pays uſury for it: with this difference, however, that the debtor, by the intereſt he pays, does not diſcharge the principal ſum lent him; whereas an author, by the frank confeſſion of what he borrows, gains it in ſome meaſure, and makes it his own. From whence he concludes, that it is meanneſs of ſpirit and baſeneſs to be better pleaſed with being ſhamefully detected in theft, than ingenuouſly to confeſs a debt. I have made myſelf very rich in the latter way, and at no great expence.

He perfectly underſtood all the difficulty and inconveniencies of an undertaking like his, in which the ſubject he treats on is of its own nature ungrateful, barren, and tedious, without leaving any room

* In his voluminibus auctorum nomina prætexui. Eſt enim benignum, ut arbitror, & plenum ingenui pudoris, fateri per quos profeceris.—Obnoxii profectò animi, & infelicis ingenii eſt, deprehendi in furto malle, quam mutuum reddere, cum præſertim ſors fiat ex uſura. *In Præfat.*

for

for a writer to diſplay his genius. But * he was convinced, that the public are not a little obliged to authors who prefer being uſeful to pleaſing it; and who, from that view, have the courage to ſurmount and undergo all the pains of a tedious and diſagreeable labour.

He flatters himſelf, that he ſhall be pardoned for all the faults he may commit; which are indeed very numerous, as they were inevitable in a work of ſo vaſt an extent, and ſo prodigious a variety.

Pliny dedicated his work to Titus, at that time almoſt aſſociated in the empire by Veſpaſian his father, and who afterwards became the delight of mankind. He gives him a ſhort, but very exalted praiſe, in telling him: "Your exaltation has made "no other change in you, but that of inabling "you to do all the good you deſire, by making "your power equal to the benevolence of your "heart.": *Nec quicquam in te mutavit fortunæ amplitudo, niſi ut prodeſſe tantundem poſſes & velles.* Epiſt. 16. l. 6.

Pliny the younger tells us, in a letter, which he addreſſes to Tacitus the hiſtorian, the ſad accident that occaſioned his uncle's death. He was at Miſenum, where he commanded the fleet. Being informed that a cloud appeared of extraordinary magnitude and form, he put to ſea, and ſoon diſcovered that it came from mount Veſuvius. He made all the haſte he could to get to a place from whence every body elſe fled, and to that part of it where the danger ſeemed greateſt; but with ſuch a freedom of ſpirit and unconcern, that he made and dictated obſervations upon every extraordinary appearance that aroſe. His ſhips were already co-

* Equidem ita ſentio, peculiarem in ſtudiis cauſam eorum eſſe, qui, difficultatibus victis, utilitatem juvandi prætulerunt gratiæ placendi. *Ibid.*

vered

vered with aſhes, which fell the thicker and hotter, the nearer they approached the mountain. Already calcined ſtones and flints, all black, burnt, and pulveriſed by the violence of the fire, poured down around them. Pliny deliberated ſome time whether he ſhould return back: but, having re-aſſured himſelf, he went forwards, landed at Stabiæ, and went to the houſe of his friend Pomponianus, whom he found in the greateſt terror, and endeavoured to encourage. After ſupper he went to bed, and ſlept ſoundly, till the approach of danger obliged them to wake him. The houſes were ſhaken in ſuch a manner by repeated earthquakes, that one would have thought they had been torn from their foundations. The family went into the fields. I omit abundance of circumſtances. The dark and frightful night, that hung over all, had no other light than what it received from the fire of the mountain. Flames that appeared of an unuſual vaſtneſs, and the ſmell of ſulphur, which foretold their approach, made every body take to to their heels. Pliny roſe by the help of two ſervants, and that very moment fell down dead, apparently ſuffocated by the thickneſs of the ſmoke.

This was the end of the learned Pliny. We cannot but be pleaſed with a nephew, for having drawn ſo well the death of his uncle, and having ſeen nothing in it but fortitude, courage, intrepidity, and greatneſs of ſoul. But to judge of it rightly, can we acquit an enterpriſe of raſhneſs, in which a man hazards his life, and what is more to be condemned, that of others, only to ſatisfy his curioſity?

It remains for me to conclude this article with a word or two upon Pliny's ſtile, which is peculiar to him, and like that of no other writer. We muſt not expect to find in it either the purity, elegance, or admirable ſimplicity of the Auguſtan age, from which however it was not removed very many years.

His

His proper character is force, energy, vivacity, and, I might ſay, even boldneſs, as well in his expreſſions as thoughts, with a wonderful fertility of imagination, to paint and make the objects he deſcribes ſenſible. But it muſt alſo be owned, that his ſtile is ſtiff and cramped, and thereby often obſcure; and that his thoughts frequently ſwell beyond truth, and are exceſſive, and even falſe. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew this by ſome examples.

Pliny explains the wonders contained in the matter of which ſails for ſhips are made, that is to ſay, of flax and * hemp. Man ſows only a ſmall ſeed in the ground, which ſuffices to make him maſter of the winds, and to ſubject them to his occaſions. Without mentioning an infinite number of uſes made of flax and hemp, what can be more wonderful, than to ſee an herb make Egypt and Italy approach each other, notwithſtanding the ſea that ſeparates them? And what herb is this? A ſmall, ſlender, weak blade, that ſcarce raiſes itſelf above the ground, that of itſelf forms neither a firm body nor ſubſtance, and requires to be prepared for our uſes by being broken and reduced to the ſoftneſs of wool. Yet little as this plant is, we are indebted to it for the facility of tranſporting ourſelves from one end of the world to the other: *Seritur linum. Sed in qua non occurrit vitæ parte? quodve miraculum majus, herbam eſſe quæ admoveat Ægyptum Italiæ.—Denique tam parvo ſemine naſci, quod orbem terrarum ultro citroque portet, tam gracili avena, tam non altè a terra tolli; neque id viribus ſuis neſci, ſed paſſum, tuſumque, & in mollitiem lanæ coactum!* Lib. 19. in Procem.

He gives a magnificent idea of the grandeur and majeſty of the Roman empire. Rome, ſays he, is the mother at the ſame time and nurſe of the univerſe; choſen expreſsly by the gods to render Lib. 3. c. 5.

* *Pliny mentions only flax.*

heaven

heaven itſelf more illuſtrious, to unite all the empires diſperſed over the whole earth, to refine and ſoften manners and cuſtoms, to reduce to one and the ſame language the barbarous and diſcordant tongues of ſo many nations, to eſtabliſh amongſt them by that means an eaſy and ſalutary commerce, to communicate to man the laws of humanity; in a word, to make that city the common country of all the people of the univerſe: *Terra (Italia) omnium terrarum alumna, eadem & parens; numine deûm electa, quæ cœlum ipſum clarius faceret, ſparſa congregaret imperia, rituſque molliret, & tot populorum diſcordes feraſque linguas ſermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia, & humanitatem homini daret; breviterque una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret.*

I ſhall only add one more paſſage in this place, which ſeemed very remarkable to me, and relates to all of us. It is with reaſon, ſays Pliny, that we give man the firſt rank amongſt all creatures, him for whom nature ſeems to have formed all others: but ſhe makes him pay dear for all her preſents; ſo that we do not know whether we have moſt room to conſider her in regard to him as an indulgent parent, or a rigid ſtep-mother. All other animals come into the world, each in a different dreſs to cover it; man is the only one that ſtands in need of a foreign aid to cloath him. He is thrown at his birth ſtark naked upon the ground as naked as himſelf. The firſt ſigns of life that he gives are * cries, lamentations, and tears, which is not the caſe

Lib. 7. in Procem.

* *The Latin tongue has a peculiar word to expreſs the cries of infants,* vagitus; *as it alſo has for that of oxen, cows, and bulls,* mugitus; *and that of lions,* rugitus. *Our language has adopted the two laſt words,* mugiſſement, rugiſſement. *I know not why it ſhould not do the ſame in regard to the firſt, and uſe* vagiſſement, *which is in the ſame mode of analogy. This word might offend at firſt through its novelty; but we ſhould inſenſibly accuſtom ourſelves to it as well as to the others. For my part, not having ſufficient authority with the public,*

caſe with any of the other animals. To this firſt uſe which he makes of the light, ſucceed the folds and bandages in which all his members are wrapt and bound up, a thing no leſs particular to him. It is in this condition the king of animals, over whom he is deſtined to reign, finds himſelf, as ſoon as born, tied hand and foot, and venting ſobs and ſhrieks. His life begins with torments and inflictions for the ſole crime of being born. How ſtrange is the folly of mankind to imagine themſelves, after ſuch beginnings, born for pride and pomp. *Principium jure tribuetur homini, cujus cauſa videtur cuncta alia genuiſſe natura, magna ſæva mercede contra tanta ſua munera; non ſit ut ſatis æſtimare, parens melior homini, an triſtior noverca fuerit. Ante omnia, unum animantium cunctorum alienis velat opibus: cæteris variè tegmenta tribuit.——Hominem tantùm nudum, & in nuda humo, natali die abjicit ad vagitus ſtatim & ploratum, nullumque tot animalium aliud ad lacrymas, & has protinus vitæ principio.——Ab hoc lucis rudimento, quæ ne feras quidem inter nos genitas, vincula excipiunt, & omnium membrorum nexus. Itaque fæliciter natus jacet, manibus pedibuſque devinctis, flens animal cæteris imperaturum; & a ſuppliciis vitam auſpicatur unam tantùm ob culpam, quia natum eſt. Heu dementiam ab his initiis exiſtimantium ad ſuperbiam ſe genitos!* The pagans had a right ſenſe of man's miſery from his birth, but did not know the cauſe of it, as St. Auguſtin obſerves, ſpeaking of Cicero: *Rem vidit, cauſam non vidit.*

lic, I dared not venture it, and contented myſelf, with ſome regret, to ſay only to myſelf, with ſome regret, to ſay only to myſelf:

——— Ego cur acquirere pauca
Si poſſum, invidear? ——— *Horat.*

The Tranſlator thought proper to retain this note, becauſe it is an example of what the author has ſaid above in the text, upon introducing new words into a language, and may ſerve for ours as well as the French.

Theſe few paſſages which I have here quoted from Pliny, and have tranſlated as well as I could, without being able to render the energy of the original, may ſuffice to give the reader ſome idea of his ſtile and character. I ſhould obſerve, before I conclude, upon the induſtrious art of the author I now ſpeak of. His work, which takes in all natural hiſtory, and treats circumſtantially an infinity of ſubjects, abſolutely neceſſary to his plan, but intirely diſagreeable in themſelves, abounds almoſt every where with thorns and brambles, which preſent nothing grateful to the reader, and are very capable of giving him diſguſt. Pliny, like an able writer, to prevent, or at leaſt to leſſen this diſtaſte, has taken care to interſperſe here and there ſome flowers, to throw into ſome of his narratives abundance of graces and ſpirit, and to adorn almoſt all the prefaces, which he places in the front of each of his books, with fine and ſolid reflections.

LUCIAN.

Lucian, a Greek author, was born at Samoſata, the capital of Comagena, a province of Syria, of parents of very moderate condition. His father, not having any fortune to give him, reſolved to make him learn a trade. But the beginnings not being very much in his favour, he applied himſelf to literature, upon a dream, true or fictitious, related in the beginning of his works. I ſhall give an extract of it in this place, which may contribute to the reader's having an idea of his genius and ſtile.

I was fifteen years old, ſays he, when I left off going to ſchool, at which time my father conſulted with his friends how to diſpoſe of me. Several did not approve my being brought up to letters, becauſe much time and expence were neceſſary for ſucceſs

ſucceſs in them. They conſidered that I was not rich, and that in learning a trade, I ſhould ſoon be able to ſupply myſelf with the means of life, without being a charge to my father or family. This advice was followed, and I was put into the hands of an uncle, who was an excellent ſculptor. I did not diſlike this art, becauſe I had amuſed myſelf very early in making little works of wax, in which I ſucceeded tolerably well: beſides which, ſculpture did not ſeem ſo much a trade to me, as an elegant diverſion. I was therefore ſet to work, to try how I ſhould take to it. But I began by laying on the chiſſel ſo clumſily upon the ſtone, which had been given me to work upon, and was very fine, that it broke under the weight of my fiſts. My uncle was ſo violently angry, that he could not help giving me ſeveral blows: ſo that my apprenticeſhip began with tears.

I ran home crying bitterly, and related this unfortunate adventure, ſhewing the marks of the blows I had received, which exceedingly afflicted my mother. In the evening I went to bed, and did nothing but ruminate upon what had happened all night. In my ſleep I had a dream, which made a very lively impreſſion upon me. I thought I ſaw two women. The one was rough and uncombed, with dirty hands, ſleeves tucked up, and her face all covered with ſweat and duſt, in ſhort, ſuch as my uncle was when at work. The other had a graceful air, a ſweet and ſmiling aſpect, and was very neat, though modeſt, in her attire. After having eagerly pulled me to and fro, to make me join one of them, they referred the deciſion of their difference to my own choice, and pleaded their cauſe alternately.

The firſt began thus: "Son, I am ſculpture, "whom you have lately eſpouſed, and whom you "have known from your infancy, your uncle hav-

" ing made himſelf very famous by me. If you " will follow me, without hearkening to the ſooth- " ing words of my rival, I will render you illu- " ſtrious, not like her, by words, but deeds. For " beſides, that you will become ſtrong and vigo- " rous like me, you ſhall require an eſtimation not " ſubject to envy, nor one day the cauſe of your " ruin, like the charms of her who now endeavours " to ſeduce you. For the reſt, be not in pain " upon account of my habit; it is that of Phi- " dias and Polycletus, and thoſe other great ſculp- " tors, who, when alive, were adored for their " works, and who are ſtill adored with the gods " that they made. Conſider how much praiſe and " glory you will acquire by treading in their ſteps, " and what joy you will give your father and " family." This is very near what this lady ſaid to me in a rude groſs tone, as artiſans ſpeak, but with force and vivacity. After which, the other addreſſed herſelf to me in theſe words.

" I am erudition, who preſide over all the " branches of polite knowledge. Sculpture has " diſplayed the advantages you would have with " her. But if you hearken to her, you will al- " ways continue a miſerable artificer, expoſed to " the contempt and inſults of the world, and com- " pelled to make your court to the great for ſub- " ſiſtence. Should you even become the moſt " excellent in your art, you will only be admired, " whilſt none will envy your condition. But if " you follow me, I will teach you whatever is " moſt noble and moſt excellent in the univerſe, " and whatever antiquity boaſts of remarkable. I " will adorn thy ſoul with the moſt exalted vir- " tues, ſuch as modeſty, juſtice, piety, humanity, " equity, prudence, patience, and the love of " whatever is virtuous and laudable: for theſe are " the real ornaments of the ſoul. Inſtead of that

" mean

" mean dreſs of yours, I will beſtow upon thee a " majeſtic one, like that thou ſeeſt me wear; and " from poor and unknown, I will render thee illu- " ſtrious and opulent, worthy of the higheſt em- " ployments, and capable of attaining them. If " thou deſireſt to travel into foreign countries, I " will cauſe thy renown to go before thee. Peo- " ple will come from all parts to conſult thee as " an oracle: the whole world will homage and " adore thee. I will even give thee ſo much " boaſted immortality, and make thee ſurvive for " ever in the remembrance of men. Conſider " what Æſchines and Demoſthenes, the admira- " tion of all ages, became by my means. Socrates, " who at firſt followed Sculpture, my rival, no " ſooner knew me, than he abandoned her for me. " Has he had cauſe to repent his choice? Will you " renounce ſuch honours, riches, and authority, to " follow a poor unknown, who has nothing to " give thee, but the mallet and chiſſel, the low " inſtruments ſhe holds in her hands, who is re- " duced to get the means of life by the ſweat of " her brows, and to be more intent on poliſhing a " piece of ſtone, than in poliſhing herſelf?"

She had no ſooner ſpoke theſe words, than ſtruck with her promiſes, and not having yet forgot the blows I had received, I ran to embrace her almoſt before ſhe ceaſed to ſpeak. The other, tranſported with rage and indignation, was immediately changed into a ſtatue, as is related of Niobe. Erudition thereupon, to reward my choice, made me aſcend with her into her chariot, and touching her winged horſes, ſhe carried me from eaſt to weſt, making me ſcatter univerſally, ſomething I know not what, of cœleſtial and divine, that cauſed mankind to look up with aſtoniſhment, and to load me with bleſſings and praiſes. She afterwards brought

me back into my own country, crowned with honour and glory; and reſtoring me to my father, who expected me with great impatience: "Be-" hold," ſaid ſhe to him, pointing to the robe I had on, "of how exalted a fortune you would have "deprived your ſon, had I not interpoſed." Here ended my dream.

Lucian concludes this ſhort diſcourſe with obſerving, that his deſign, in relating this dream, which ſeems entirely a fiction of his own, was to inculcate the love of virtue in youth, and to encourage them by his example to ſurmount all the difficulties they may meet with in their courſe, and to conſider poverty as no obſtacle to real merit.

The effect this dream had, was to kindle in him an ardent deſire to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the ſtudy of polite learning, to which he entirely devoted himſelf. We may judge of the progreſs he made in it, by the erudition that appears in his writings upon all manner of ſubjects; which gave me reaſon to place him amongſt the philologers.

He ſays himſelf, that he embraced the profeſſion of an advocate: but that abhorring the clamour and chicanery of the bar, he had recourſe to philoſophy as to an aſylum.

It appears alſo from his writings, that he was a rhetorician, who profeſſed eloquence, and compoſed declamations and harangues upon different ſubjects, and even pleadings, though none of his making, have come down to us.

He ſettled firſt at Antioch; from whence he went into Ionia and Greece, and afterwards into Gaul and Italy: but his longeſt reſidence was at Athens. In his extreme old age, he accepted the office of regiſter to the præfect of Egypt. I ſhall not enter into a circumſtantial account of the particulars of his life, which are of little importance

to

to my ſubject. He lived to the reign of Commodus, to whom he inſcribed the hiſtory of Alexander the Impoſtor, after the death of Marcus Aurelius.

He left abundance of writings upon different ſubjects. The purity of the Greek tongue, and the clear, agreeable, lively, and animated ſtile, in which they are wrote, give the reader great pleaſure. In his dialogues of the dead, he has hit that admirable ſimplicity, and natural pleaſantry of humour, which are ſo well adapted to a manner of writing, which is extremely difficult, though it does not ſeem ſo, becauſe a vaſt number of perſonages, very different in their age and condition, are introduced ſpeaking in it, each according to their peculiar character.

His writings have this advantage, as Quintilian has obſerved of Cicero's, that they may be uſeful to beginners, and no leſs ſo to the more advanced. He is wonderful in his narration, and has an abundance in him, which may be of great ſervice to geniuſes naturally dry and barren.

He treats fable in a manner at once agreeable and very proper to impreſs it upon the memory, which is of no ſmall advantage for the underſtanding of the poets. He paints admirably in a thouſand places the miſeries of this life, the vanity of mankind, the pride of the philoſophers, and the arrogance of the learned.

It is however true, that choice and diſcernment are neceſſary in reading this author, who, in many of his works, ſhews little reſpect for modeſty, and makes open profeſſion of impiety, equally deriding the chriſtian religion, of which he ſpeaks in many places with extreme contempt, and the pagan ſuperſtitions, of which he ſhews the ridicule. This occaſioned his being called blaſphemer and atheiſt. And indeed he followed the Epicurean philoſophy, Suidas.

which differs little from atheiſm; or rather he had neither religion, nor any fixed and conſtant principles, regarding every thing as uncertain and problematical, and making every thing matter of jeſt.

Suidas ſays, it was generally believed that he was torn in pieces by dogs, as a judgment for his preſumption in making Chriſt the ſubject of his raillery. It were to be wiſhed that this fact was better atteſted.

AULUS GELLIUS.

Aulus Gellius (or by corruption Agellius) was a grammarian, who lived in the ſecond century, in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, and ſome other emperors his ſucceſſors. He ſtudied grammar at Rome, and philoſophy at Athens, under Calviſius Taurus, from whence he afterwards returned to Rome.

Gell. in. Præf. He rendered himſelf famous by his *Noctes Atticæ*, which name he gave to a collection he made for his children of whatever he had learned, that was fine, either in reading authors, or from the converſation of learned men. He called it ſo, becauſe he had compoſed it at Athens during the winter, when the length of the nights afforded more time for application. Macrobius has copied ſeveral things from him without quoting him.

There does not ſeem to be any great diſcernment in the topics he has choſen as the moſt conſiderable and moſt uſeful, which are generally grammatical remarks of little importance. We are, however, indebted to him for many fact and monuments of antiquity, no where elſe to be found. Of the twenty books that compoſe this work, the eighth is entirely loſt; nothing remaining of it but the titles of the chapters. That wherein he tranſiently

Lib. 20. c. 1.

treats

treats of the laws of the twelve tables is very much eſteemed.

Aulus Gellius's ſtile does not want force, but is often mixed with barbarous and improper words, which render it hard and obſcure, and argues the age he lived in, from which little purity and elegance is to be expected.

Amongſt the particulars, which he tell us of his life, he obſerves, that whilſt he was very young, being choſen by the prætors to adjudge ſome little affairs of private perſons, one was brought before him, in which a man claimed a ſum of money, that he pretended to have lent another. He proved this only by ſome circumſtances of no great certainty, and had neither writing nor witneſs: but he was a man of unqueſtionable honour, irreproachable life, and known integrity. His oppoſite, on the contrary, who denied the debt, was notorious for his ſordid avarice; and was proved to have been often convicted of fraud and perfidy. Aulus Gellius, to adjudge this cauſe, had taken with him ſeveral of his friends verſed in the buſineſs of the bar, but who deſired nothing ſo much as diſpatch, having a great deal of other affairs to attend. Hence they made no difficulty to conlude, that a man could not be obliged to pay a debt, when there was no proofs thot he owed it. Gell. l. 14. c. 2.

Aulus Gellius could not reſolve to diſmiſs the cauſe in this manner, believing one of the parties very capable of denying what he owed, and the other incapable of demanding what was not his due. He therefore referred judgment to another day, and went to conſult Favorinus, who was then alive and at Rome: he was a philoſopher of great reputation. Favorinus, upon his propoſing the caſe to him, repeated a paſſage of Cato, which ſays, that on theſe occaſions, where proofs were wanting,

wanting, the antient cuſtom of the Romans was to examine, which of the two were the honeſter man; and, when they were equally ſo, or equally otherwiſe, to adjudge the cauſe in favour of the perſon ſued: from whence Favorinus concluded, that with regard to two perſons, ſo different in their characters as the parties in the cauſe, there was no difficulty to believe an honeſt man preferable to a knave. Whatever reſpect Aulus Gellius might have for this philoſopher, he could not entirely give into his opinion; and, determining to do nothing againſt his conſcience, he declined paſſing judgment in an affair, into which he could not ſufficiently penetrate. The caſe would have no difficulty with us, becauſe the pretended debtor would be put to his oath, and be believed upon it.

ATHENÆUS.

Athenæus was of Naucratis, antiently a famous city of Egypt, upon an arm of the Nile that took its name from it. He lived in the reign of the Emperor Commodus. He compoſed a work in Greek, which he called *Dipnoſophiſta*, that is to ſay, *the banquet of the learned*; which abounds with curious and learned enquiries, and gives abundance of light into the Grecian antiquities. We have only an abridgment or extracts of the firſt books of his Dipnoſophiſta, made, as Caſaubon believes, at Conſtantinople, five or ſix hundred years ago.

Voſſ. hiſt. gr. l. 2. c. 15.

JULIUS POLLUX.

Julius Pollux was the countryman and cotemporary of Athenæus. He inſcribed to Commodus, when only Cæſar, in the life-time of Marcus Aurelius, the ten books which we have of his under the title of *Onomaſticon*. It is a collection of the ſynonymous words by which the beſt Greek authors expreſs

preſs the ſame thing. He was apparently one of the præceptors of Commodus. He pleaſed that prince with his fine voice, who gave him the chair of profeſſor of eloquence, which had been founded at Athens. Philoſtratus, who places him amongſt the ſophiſts, aſcribes to him a great knowledge of the Greek language, a taſte for what was well or ill wrote, and genius enough for eloquence, but little art. Philoſt. p. 589, 590.

SOLINUS.

C. Julius Solinus has left us a deſcription of the earth, under the name of *Polyniſtor*. Voſſius relates many opinions upon the time when this author lived, and concludes, that all which can be ſaid of it is, that he preceded St. Jerom, who cites him, that is to ſay, after the firſt century, and before the end of the fourth. His work is only an extract from ſeveral authors, particularly Pliny the Naturaliſt, and is done with no great genius and judgment. Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. 3.

PHILOSTRATUS.

There were many ſophiſts of this name. We ſhall ſpeak here only of him who wrote the life of Apollonius Tyanæus. He was one of the learned men, that frequented the court of the empreſs Julia, the wife of Severus. He profeſſed eloquence at Athens, and afterwards at Rome, in the reign of Severus. The life of Apollonius, written by Damis, the moſt zealous of his diſciples, which was properly no more than memoirs very meanly compoſed, having fallen into Julia's hands, ſhe gave it to Philoſtratus, who from thoſe memoirs, and what he could extract from the works of Apollonius himſelf Suidas. Ant. J. C. 194.

ſelf, and other writings, compiled the hiſtory we have of him.

Euſeb. in Hier. Euſebius aſſerts, that it were eaſy to ſhew, that a great part of his narration contradict themſelves, and breathe nothing but fable and romance. Nor is he afraid to add, that his whole work abounds with fictions and falſities. Photius, who briefly repeats part of the facts of this hiſtory, treats many of them as impertinent fables. Suidas ſpeaks of the ſame effect.

Phot. c. 44.

The latter, beſides the life of Apollonius, aſcribes many other writings to Philoſtratus, and amongſt the reſt, four books of allegories and deſcriptions, which are ſtill extant, and have been judged a work of great beauty, well ſuſtained, and written with all the delicacy of the Attic tongue.

MACROBIUS.

Thir author, at the head of his works, is called *Aurelius Theodoſius Ambroſius Macrobius.* To which the epithet *Illuſtrious* is added, peculiar to thoſe advanced to the higheſt dignities of the empire. He was of a country, where the Latin tongue was not commonly ſpoke, that is to ſay, of Greece or of the Eaſt, and lived in the reigns of Theodoſius and his children.

Though it is not certain that this author is the Macrobius mentioned in the laws of Honorius and Theodoſius, it is, however, ſcarce to be doubted, but he lived about that time, as all the perſons he introduces ſpeaking in his Saturnalia lived very near it.

Saturn. l. 1. in Præfat. He feigns this converſation, in order to collect all that he knew of antiquities, which he intended for the inſtruction of his ſon Euſtathius, to whom he addreſſes it. And as he aſſembles in it all the greateſt

greateſt and moſt learned perſons of Rome during the vacations of the *Saturnalia*, he gives that name to his work. He profeſſes to relate things generally in the expreſs words of the authors from whom he extracts them, becauſe his view in it was not to diſplay his eloquence, but to inſtruct his ſon: beſides which, being a Greek, it was not entirely eaſy for him to expreſs himſelf in Latin. Accordingly his elocution is ſaid to be neither pure nor elegant; and that in the paſſages where he ſpeaks himſelf, a Greek ſeems talking broken Latin. As for the matters he treats, they have their beauty and erudition.

Beſides the Saturnalia, there are two books of Macrobius's upon the dream, aſcribed by Cicero to Scipio, done alſo for his ſon Euſtathius, to whom he addreſſes them.

DONATUS.

Donatus (*Ælius Donatus*) whoſe ſcholar St. Jerome was, taught grammar with great reputation at Rome, in the reign of the emperor Conſtantius. Ant. J. C. 354.

We have the commentaries upon Virgil and Terence, which are pretended to be the ſame, aſcribed by St. Jerom to his maſter Donatus. The beſt judges believe, that there may be ſomething of his in the comment upon Virgil, but that abundance is added to it unworthy ſo able an hand. As to the comment upon Terence, it is attributed to Evanthius, otherwiſe called Eugraphius, who lived at the ſame time. Neither is it belived, that the lives of thoſe two poets are done by Donatus. We have ſome tracts upon grammar which bear his name, and are eſteemed.

SERVIUS.

SERVIUS.

Servius *(Maurus Honeratus)* lived about the reigns of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius. He is known by the comment upon Virgil aſcribed to him. It is the general opinion, that this piece is only an abridgment extracted from the work of the true Servius, the loſs of which theſe extracts have occaſioned.

STOBÆUS.

Johannes Stobæus, a Greek author, lived in the fifth century. What remains of his collection, has preſerved ſome curious monuments of the antient poets and philoſophers. It is believed, that amongſt theſe fragments many things have been added by thoſe who came after him.

CHAPTER III.

OF RHETORICIANS.

THOSE who made it their profeſſion to teach eloquence, and have wrote precepts upon it are called Rhetoricians.

Eloquence is the art of ſpeaking well. One might believe that for the attainment of it, it would ſuffice to harken to and follow the voice of, nature. She ſeems to dictate to us what it is neceſſary to ſay, and often even the manner of ſaying it. Do we not every day ſee a multitude of perſons, who without art or ſtudy, and by the pure force of genius, can give order, perſpicuity, eloquence, and, above all, fine ſenſe to their diſcourſe? What more is wanting.

It is * true, that without the aid of nature, precepts are of no uſe: but it is as true, that they very much ſupport and ſtrengthen her, in ſerving her as a rule and guide. Precepts are no more than obſervations, which have been made upon what was either fine or defective in diſcourſe. For, as † Cicero very well obſerves, eloquence was not the offspring of art, but art of eloquence. Theſe reflections, reduced to order, formed what is called Rhetoric. Now who doubts, but they may be of

* Illud in primis teſtandum eſt, nihil præcepta atque artes valere niſi adjuvante natura. *Quintil.* l. 1. *in Proœm.*

† Non eſſe eloquentiam ex artificio, ſed artificium ex eloquentia natum. 1. *De Orat.* n. 146.

Initium dicendi dedit natura; initium artis obſervatio. *Quintil.* l. 3. c. 2.

great

great ſervice for attaining and improving the talent of ſpeaking.

Quintilian, in the third book of his *Inſtitutions Oratoriæ*, enumerates a conſiderable number of the antient rhetoricians, as well Greek as Latin. I ſhall expatiate only upon thoſe, whoſe names and hiſtories are beſt known, ſhall ſlightly paſs over others, and even ſay nothing of many. Mr. Gibert, who has been profeſſor of rhetoric in the college of Mazarine almoſt fifty years with great reputation, and has ſeveral times filled, and always with the ſame ſucceſs, the honourable place of principal in the univerſity of Paris, has compoſed a work upon the ſubject I now treat, abounding with erudition, of which, as an antient friend, he has given me permiſſion to make all the uſe I ſhould think fit.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE I.

OF THE GREEK RHETORICIANS.

EMPEDOCLES. CORAX. TISIAS.

EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum, a celebrated philoſopher, is ſuppoſed to be the firſt that had any knowledge of rhetoric; and *Corax* and *Tiſias*, both Sicilians, are ſaid to be the firſt who reduced it to rules. They had many diſciples, better known under the name of Sophiſts, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel. Quintil. l. 3. c. 1. Cic. in Brut. n. 46.

PLATO.

Though Plato ſeems to have undertaken to diſcredit rhetoric, he juſtly deſerves to be ranked in the number of the moſt excellent rhetoricians, having only cenſured and ridiculed thoſe who diſhonoured this art by the abuſe of it, and the bad taſte of eloquence they endeavoured to introduce. The ſolid and judicious reflections, which we find in ſeveral of his dialogues, eſpecially in the Phædrus and Gorgias, may be conſidered as a good rhetoric, and contains the moſt important principles of it.

ARISTOTLE.

Ariſtotle is acknowledged, with reaſon, the chief and prince of rhetoricians. His rhetoric, divided into three books, has always been conſidered by the learned as a maſterpiece, and the moſt conſummate treatiſe that ever appeared upon this ſubject. We

are indebted for this work to its author's jealouſy, or rather emulation. * Iſocrates, at that time very old, taught eloquence at Athens with extraordinary ſucceſs, and was followed by a great number of illuſtrious diſciples. I might for that reaſon have given him place amongſt the rhetoricians: but I refer ſpeaking of him to another title. So ſhining a reputation alarmed Ariſtotle. By an happy parody to a verſe of a Greek tragedy, he ſaid to himſelf: *It is a ſhame for me to keep ſilence, and let Iſocrates ſpeak.*

Αἶχρον σιωπᾶν, Ἰσοκράτην δ' ἐᾶν λέγειν.

Till then he had ſolely taught philoſophy; which he continued to do only in the mornings, and opened his ſchool in the afternoon, to teach pupils the precepts of rhetoric.

De Invent. l. 2. n. 6. De Orat. l. 2. n. 160.

It appears that Ariſtotle compoſed ſeveral works upon rhetoric. Cicero ſpeaks in more than one place of a collection, in which this † philoſopher had inſerted all the precepts of that art which had appeared from Tiſias, whom he conſiders as the inventor of it, to his own times; and had treated them with ſuch elegance, perſpicuity, and order, that people no longer had recourſe to their authors for them, but only to Ariſtotle.

* Itaque ipſe Ariſtoteles, cùm florere Iſocratem nobilitate diſcipulorum videret—mutavit repente totam formam prope diſciplinæ ſuæ, verſumque quemdam Philoctete paulo ſecus dixit. Ille enim tacere ait ſibi eſſe turpe cum barbaris; hic autem, cùm Iſocratem pateretur dicere. *De Orat.* l. 3. n. 141.

Iſocratis præſtantiſſimi diſcipuli fuerunt in omni ſtudiorum genere; eoque jam ſeniore——pomeridianis ſcholis Ariſtoteles præcipere artem oratoriam cœpit. *Quint.* l. 3. c. 1.

† Nominatim cujuſque præcepta magnâ conquiſita curâ perſpicuè conſcripſit, atque enodata diligenter expoſuit; ac tantùm inventoribus ipſis ſuavitate & brevitate dicendi præſtitit, ut nemo illorum præcepta ex ipſorum libris cognoſcat; ſed omnes, qui, quod illi præcipiant, velint intelligere, ad hunc quaſi ad quemdan multo commodiorem explicatorem convertantur. *De Invent.*

Immediately

Immediately after Ariſtotle's rhetoric, conſiſting of three books, there is another intituled, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, as addreſſed to Alexander, and compoſed expreſly for him. But all the learned agree that it is not Ariſtotle's.

He had compoſed ſome books upon this ſubject in the name of Theodectes. What Valerius Maximus relates on this head, would do honour to Ariſtotle, if it were true. He tells us, that to pleaſe Theodectes, one of his diſciples, for whom he had a particular regard, he had made him a preſent of theſe books, and given him leave to publiſh them in his own name: but that afterwards repenting his having inconſiderately transferred his glory to another, he declared himſelf the author of them. Accordingly he cites them as in his rhetoric. It continued a doubt to the time of Quintilian, whether this work was wrote by Ariſtotle or Theodectes. Lib. 3. c. 7. p. 593. Quintil. l. 2. c. 15.

However it were, his rhetoric, which is come down to us, and which no-body diſputes being his, is the moſt generally eſteemed of all his works, for its wonderful order, the ſolidity of the reflections incorporated with the precepts, and the profound knowledge of the human heart, which appears particularly in his treatiſe upon the manners and paſſions. Maſters whoſe province it is to teach youth eloquence, cannot ſtudy ſo excellent a book too much. The ſame may be ſaid of his Poetics.

ANAXIMENES.

Anaximenes of Lampſacus is generally taken for the author of the rhetoric addreſſed to Alexander. It has its merit, but is very much inferior to that of Ariſtotle. He wrote upon many other ſubjects.

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus is of the firſt rank amongſt the hiſtorians and rhetoricians. I conſider him in this place only under the latter denomination.

Soon after Auguſtus had terminated the civil wars, about the 187th olympiad, and twenty-eight years before Jeſus Chriſt, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſeus came to ſettle at Rome, where he reſided twenty-eight years. It is believed, from ſome paſſages in his writings, that he taught rhetoric there, either publicly or in private.

Vol. II. p. 21, 64.

All that he wrote upon this head is not come down to us. We have a treatiſe of this author upon *the diſpoſition of words*, another upon *the Art*; a third, which is not perfect, *of the characters of the antient writers*, and eſpecially the orators. In the firſt part he ſpeaks of *Lyſias*, *Iſocrates*, and *Iſæus*; in the ſecond he treated of *Demoſthenes*, *Hyperides*, and *Æſchines*; nothing remains of it but what relates to Demoſthenes, nor is that fragment entire. He adds alſo ſomething on Dinarchus. Two letters follow: the one to Ammæus, wherein he examines *whether Demoſthenes formed himſelf upon Ariſtotle's rhetoric*; the other to one Pompeius, wherein *he gives an account of what he thinks vicious in Plato's diction*: We have ſtill his *compariſons* of Herodotus and Thucydides, Xenophon, Philiſtus, and Theopompus. And, laſtly, we have his reflections upon *what forms the peculiar character of Thucydides*: The end of theſe laſt works is to make known the characters of the authors of whom he ſpeaks, and to ſhew wherein they are and are not imitable.

What we have of this author's is not therefore a rhetoric in form, but fragments of rhetoric, or certain points of that art, on which he thought fit to treat.

His

His inquiry into the moſt celebrated writers of antiquity, and the judgment he paſſes on them, may be of great uſe in forming the taſte. It is true, we are ſhocked at firſt with the liberty he takes in arraigning certain articles of Plato and Thucydides, for whom, in other reſpects, he profeſſes the higheſt eſteem and regard. It would be very uſeful, and not diſagreeable to the reader, to enter into the exact diſcuſſion of his judgments, and to examine, without prejudice, and with attention, whether they are or are not founded in reaſon and truth. Neither the plan of my work, nor the mediocrity of my talents, admit me to think of ſuch an undertaking. Our author declares in ſeveral paſſages, that it is neither the deſire to exalt himſelf, nor to depreciate others, that are his motive and guide in his criticiſms, but the ſincere intent of being uſeful to his readers: which is an happy diſpoſition for forming right judgments. Vol. II. p. 120, 137, 161.

A very ſhort fragment which remains of his, ſhews us his motive for compoſing his treatiſes of rhetoric: this was the deſire of contributing to the eſtabliſhment of good taſte in regard to eloquence. From the death of Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, it had ſuffered great alterations in Greece, and by an imperceptible, but always increaſing, decline, it was at laſt ſunk to ſuch an ebb, that it could ſcarce be known for itſelf. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that this alteration and decay began by Demetrius Phalereus. Inſtead of that manly and natural beauty, that noble and antient ſimplicity, that air of dignity and grandeur, which had acquired it univerſal reſpect and unlimited empire over the minds and paſſions of mankind; it's rival, I mean Falſe Eloquence, from the delightful regions of Aſia, tacitly laboured to ſupplant it, made uſe of paint and glaring colours for that purpoſe, and aſſumed ſuch ornaments as were beſt Vol. II. p. 80, 81.

ſuited to dazzle the eyes, and illude the mind. This laſt-comer, with no other merit than that of a ſplendid but vain attire, though a ſtranger, at length eſtabliſhed herſelf in all the cities of Greece, to the excluſion of the other, a native of the country, who ſaw herſelf expoſed to the oblivion, contempt, and even inſults of thoſe, who had formerly ſo long and ſo juſtly admired her. Our author, in this point, compares Greece to an houſe, wherein a concubine of art and addreſs, who by her charms and inſinuations has gained an entire aſcendant over the huſband, has introduced diſorder and depravity, and governors without controul; whilſt the lawful wife, become in ſome meaſure a ſlave, has the affliction to ſee herſelf deſpiſed and neglected, and is every day reduced to ſuffer the moſt ſenſible affronts and indignities. He obſerves with joy, that ſound eloquence has for ſome time reſumed her antient credit, and compelled her rival in her turn to give her place. All he ſays here regards Greece; and he aſcribes ſo happy a change to the good taſte which then prevailed at Rome, from whence it had already diffuſed itſelf, and daily would continue to do ſo more and more, into all the cities of Greece, that emulated each other in imitating the example of the reigning city. It was to contribute to this revival of eloquence in his country, that Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus compoſed all his books upon rhetoric: a laudable motive, and well worthy of a good and zealous citizen.

HERMOGENES.

Philoſtr. de vit. Sophiſt. l. 2. p. 575.

Hermogenes was a native of Tarſus in Cilicia, and lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. That prince, having had the curioſity to hear his lectures, was charmed with them, and made him great preſents. He began to profeſs rhetoric

at

at the fifteenth year of his age; and was but eighteen when he compoſed his book upon it, which is eſteemed a very good work by the learned. But, by a very ſingular event, at the age of four and twenty, he became ſtupid, and continued ſo during the reſt of his life. He died in the beginning of the third century.

APHTHONIUS.

Aphthonius lived about the end of the ſecond age of the church, or the beginning of the third. Inſtead of writing upon rhetoric, as others had done, only for thoſe who had made ſome progreſs in the knowledge and uſe of that art, in order to perfect them in it; Aphthonius wrote ſolely for children, his precepts extending no farther than the compoſitions he believed it neceſſary for them to make, to prepare them for what was greateſt in eloquence.

LONGINUS.

Dionyſius Longinus was a native of Athens, but by deſcent of Syria. Though he excelled very much in philoſophy, Plotinus ſays however, that he was leſs a philoſopher than a man of letters: and indeed it was by the latter that particularly he acquired the greateſt reputation. He had abundance of erudition, and the moſt refined, exact, and ſolid diſcernment in judging works of wit, and remarking their beauties and defects.

Of all his works, time has left us only his treatiſe *of the Sublime*, which is one of the fineſt fragments of antiquity. We have Mr. Boileau's excellent tranſlation of it, which has more the air of an original than a copy, has made all the world judges of it's merit, and has juſtified the general

eſteem the learned always had for its author. Cæcilius, who lived in the time of Auguſtus, had before compoſed a treatiſe upon the Sublime: but he had contented himſelf with explaining what it was, without laying down any rules for obtaining that ſublimity, which does not ſo much perſuade, as raviſh and tranſport the mind of the reader. It is the latter point Longinus undertakes to treat on in his work.

Amongſt the examples which he gives of this ſhining and magnificent manner of ſtile, he ſpeaks of Moſes in theſe terms: "The legiſlator of the "Jews, who was no common perſon, having ex- "tremely well conceived the grandeur and power "of God, expreſſes them in all their dignity in "the beginning of his laws, in theſe words: *God "ſaid, let there be light and there was light:* Let "the earth be, and the earth was."*

Longinus taught Zenobia the Greek language, who eſpouſed the celebrated Odenatus, king of Palmyra, and afterwards emperor of the Romans. It is ſaid, that he adviſed that princeſs to write the haughty letter ſhe ſent the emperor Aurelian, during the ſiege of Palmyra; and that it was for that reaſon Aurelian cauſed him to be put to death. He ſuffered that ſentence with great fortitude, conſoling thoſe who expreſſed their grief for his deſtiny.

Aurel. Vict. in Aurel.

Zoſ. l. 1.

* *In the French the words are,* Que la lumiere ſe faſſe, & la lumiere ſe fit; Que la terre ſe fit, elle fut faite. *Mr. Rollin ſays, there is more energy and ſublimity in the Hebrew, which has literally,* Que la lumiere ſoit, & la lumiere fut: Let there be light, and there was light; *exactly as in the Engliſh verſion. The word* faire, *continues he, ſeems to imply ſome effort, and a ſucceſſion of time; whereas the terms,* Que la lumiere ſoit, & la lumiere fut; Let there be light, and there was light; *expreſs better a rapid obedience to the Lord of Nature's command.*

DEME-

DEMETRIUS.

There is a treatiſe in Greek *upon Elocution*, which, though a very ſmall fragment of rhetoric, is however of ſufficient value to do honour to its author, and is aſcribed to a perſon whoſe name reflects no leſs honour upon the work: this is the famous Demetrius Phalereus, ſo called from the Athenian port Phalerus, where he was born. The critics do not however entirely agree that this work was his; ſome of whom attribute it to Demetrius Alexandrinus, an author of much later date than the former; and others believe it to have been written by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. Mr. Gibert proves, by a very judicious examination of the work itſelf, its ſtile and principles, that it was not compoſed by Demetrius Phalereus.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE LATIN RHETORICIANS.

IT was not without difficulty and oppoſition that the Latin rhetoricians ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing themſelves at Rome. It is well known that this city, ſolely intent in the firſt ages upon eſtabliſhing its power, and extending its conqueſts, did not apply itſelf at all to the ſtudy of the polite arts and ſciences. Four or five hundred years elapſed, before they were in any eſteem at Rome. Philoſophy was abſolutely unknown there, as well as all other* eloquence, but that which proceeds from nature and happineſs of genius, without the aid of art or precepts. The Grecian philoſophers and rhetoricians, who went to Rome, carried thither with them the taſte for the arts which they profeſſed. We
An. Rom. 583. Ant. J. C. 167. have ſeen that Paulus Æmilius, in the tour he made into Greece after having conquered Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedonia, demanded of the Athenians, that they would chuſe him an excellent philoſopher to finiſh the education of his children.

This cuſtom had taken place for ſome time be-
An. Rom. 591. Ant. J. C. 161. Sueton. de clar. rhet. c. 1. fore at Rome, but was ſoon interrupted by an edict, paſſed in the conſulſhip of Strabo and Meſſala, by which it was decreed, that all philoſophers and rhetoricians ſhould quit Rome; exerciſes in their way, unknown till then, giving offence to the ſtate.

Five or ſix years after this edict, ambaſſadors ar-
An. Rom. 597. Ant. J. C. 155. rived at Rome from Athens upon a particular affair. All the young Romans, who had any taſte for ſtudy, went to viſit them, and were tranſported

* Primò quidem Romani, qui nullum artis præceptum eſſe arbitrarentur, tantum, quantum ingenio & cogitatione poterant, conſequebantur. *Cic.* l. 1. *de Orat.* n. 14.

All

with admiration on hearing them diſcourſe. Carneades eſpecially, one of thoſe ambaſſadors, in whoſe eloquence force united with abundance of grace and delicacy, acquired extraordinary reputation. The whole city rang with his praiſe. It was univerſally talked, that a Greek was arrived of admirable talents; that his great knowledge made him more than man; and that his equally animated and delightful eloquence inſpired ſuch an ardour for ſtudy in youth, as induced them to renounce all other pleaſures and avocations. The Romans ſaw with great ſatisfaction their children addict themſelves to the Greek erudition, paſſionately attached to theſe wonderful perſons. Cato only, as ſoon as this love of learning began to gain ground in the city, was much concerned at it; apprehending, that the ambition and emulation of youth might be engroſſed by it, and that in conſequence they might prefer the glory of ſpeaking, to that of acting well. But when he ſaw that the diſcourſes of theſe philoſophers, tranſlated into Latin by one of the ſenators, were in great vogue throughout the city, and were read with univerſal applauſe; he employed all his credit in the ſenate to terminate the affair which had brought the ambaſſadors to Rome, and to haſten their departure. "Let them return to their "ſchools, ſaid he, and teach there as long as they "pleaſe, the children of the Greeks: but let the "Roman youth hear nothing within theſe walls "except the laws and the magiſtrates, as they did "before their arrival." As if the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence was incompatible with obedience to the laws and magiſtrates.

Plut. in Cat. Cenſ. p. 349.

The * departure and abſence of theſe philoſophers did not extinguiſh the ardour for ſtudy, which their

* Auditis oratoribus Græcis, cognitiſque eorum literis, adhibitiſque doctoribus, incredibili quodam noſtri homines dicendi ſtudio flagrarunt. *Lib.* 1. *de Orat.* n. 4.

diſcourſes

diſcourſes had inſpired. The taſte for eloquence became the univerſal paſſion of the Roman youth; and, far from abating the deſire of military glory, as Cato had apprehended, it only ſerved to exalt its value and merit. We may judge of this from what hiſtory tells us of Scipio Africanus, who lived at that time. He was of ſo refined and delicate a taſte in regard to polite learning, that, as well as Lælius, he was ſuſpected of having ſome ſhare in writing Terence's comedies, the moſt perfect work we have in that kind. He had always with him perſons † of the firſt rank in learning, as Panætius and Polybius, who accompanied him even in the field. The latter informs us, that Scipio, whilſt very young, and conſequently even at the time we ſpeak of, had a very ſtrong inclination for the ſciences, and that abundance of learned men in every kind came daily from Greece to Rome. Now was Scipio the worſe captain, for having been a man of letters?

From that time the ſtudy of eloquence, during almoſt fifty years, was ſo highly eſteemed at Rome, that it was regarded as one of the moſt effectual methods for attaining the higheſt dignities in the commonwealth. But it was taught only by the Greek rhetoricians: whence all the exerciſes, by which the youth were formed, were made in a foreign language, and in the mean time that of the country, that is to ſay, the Latin tongue, was almoſt univerſally neglected. Who does not perceive how much this cuſtom, if I may venture to ſay ſo, was contrary to right reaſon and good ſenſe? For, after all, it was in Latin that theſe young perſons were one day to plead at the

† Scipio tam elegans liberalium ſtudiorum omniſque doctrinæ & auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæque ſecum habuerit. *Vell. Paterc.* l. 1. c. 13.

bar,

bar, to harangue the people, and give their opinions in the ſenate: it was therefore in Latin they ought to have been taught to ſpeak and compoſe. I do not ſay, that it was neceſſary to exclude compoſitions in Greek. As they could find no perfect models of eloquence but in the Greek orators, it was abſolutely proper for them to ſtudy that language thoroughly, and to compoſe in Greek, in order to form themſelves upon ſuch excellent models. Cicero uſed this cuſtom, even when more advanced in years, for which he gives this reaſon: "I did this, ſays he, becauſe the Greek language, "ſupplying more ornaments, accuſtomed me to "compoſe in the ſame manner in Latin. Beſides, "ſtudying under ſuch great maſters of eloquence, "who were all Greeks, it would not have been in "their power to have inſtructed and corrected my "compoſitions, if I had not made them in Greek." De clar. Orat. n. 310. But he tells us, that he united them alſo with Latin exerciſes, though leſs frequently.

I have ſaid that Cicero was at that time ſomething advanced in life. For we ſhall ſoon ſee, that he compoſed his firſt ſtudies only in Greek, the Latin rhetoricians not being yet eſtabliſhed at Rome, or having but very lately begun to teach there. This it is time to explain, with which I ſhall introduce my account of the Latin rhetoricians, of whom I am to ſpeak in this article.

L. Plotius Gallus.

Cuſtom has a kind of deſpotic ſway, and does not give place even to reaſon and experience without exceeding difficulty. Suetonius, upon the authority of Cicero, in a letter which is loſt, informs us, that L. Plotius Gallus was the firſt who taught rhetoric at Rome in the Latin tongue. This he did De clar. rhet. c. 2. An. Rom. 658. Ant. J. C. 94.

did with great ſucceſs, and had a great concourſe of hearers.

Plut. in Cic. p. 861. Cicero, at that time very young, ſtudied rhetoric, but under Greek maſters, who alone till then had taught it at Rome. He had acquired ſo great a reputation amongſt his fellow pupils, that, out of particular diſtinction, and to do him honour, when they left the ſchools, they always placed him in the midſt of them; and the fathers of thoſe children, who every day heard them extol the pregnancy of his wit, and the maturity of his judgment, went expreſsly to the ſchools to be witneſſes of them in perſon, not being able to believe all the great things related of him.

It was at this time * Plotius opened a rhetoric ſchool at Rome. All the Roman youth, that had the leaſt taſte of eloquence, were paſſionately fond of hearing him. Cicero, then but fourteen years old, would gladly have followed that example, and improved from the leſſons of this new maſter whoſe reputation was very great throughout the whole city; and was ſenſibly concerned on being debarred that liberty. "I was prevented, ſays he, by the "authority and advice of the moſt learned perſons, "who were of opinion, that the exerciſes of rhetoric in the Greek tongue were better adapted to "forming the minds of youth."

Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 2. It is not to be doubted, that Cicero means Craſſus in this place: he explains himſelf more clearly in another, where he ſays, that, whilſt he was very young, he ſtudied with his couſins, the ſons of Aculeo, under maſters choſen according to the taſte and advice of Craſſus.

* Equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primùm Latinè docere cœpiſſe Lucium Plotium quemdam: ad quem cùm fieret concurſus, quòd ſtudioſiſſimus quiſque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar autem doctiſſimorum hominum auctoritate, qui exiſtimabant Græcis exercitationibus ali meliùs ingenia poſſe. *Cic. apud Sueton. de clar. Rhet.* c. 2.

The

The Latin rhetoricians were in great eſteem at Rome, and their ſchools much frequented: but a terrible ſtorm ſoon roſe up againſt them. The cenſors, Domitius Ænobarbus and Licinius Craſſus, paſſed an edict in regard to them, the tenor of which Suetonius has preſerved. "We have been "informed, ſay thoſe cenſors, that there are per- "ſons, who, under the name of Latin rhetoricians, "ſet themſelves up for teachers of a new art, and "that youth aſſemble in their ſchools, where they "paſs whole days in idleneſs. Our anceſtors have "delivered down to us, what they deſired their "children ſhould be taught, and to what ſchools "they ſhould go. Theſe new eſtabliſhments, ſo "oppoſite to the cuſtoms and uſages of our fore- "fathers, are not pleaſing to us, and appear con- "trary to diſcipline and good order. Wherefore "we think it incumbent on us to notify this our "opinion, as well to thoſe who have opened ſuch "ſchools, as to ſuch as frequent them, and to de- "clare that ſuch innovation is not agreeable to "us." An. Rom. 660. Ant. J. C. 92. Sueton. de clar. rhet. c. 1.

The Craſſus, of whom I have hitherto ſpoken, is one of the perſons, whom Cicero introduces in his books *de oratore*. That dialogue is ſuppoſed to have paſſed two years after the cenſorſhip of Craſſus. He makes an apology in it for his edict againſt the Latin rhetoricians. "I ſilenced * them, ſays he, "not to oppoſe, as ſome have reproached me, the An. Rom. 662. Ant. J. C. 90.

* Etiam Latini, ſi diis placet, hoc biennio magiſtri dicendi extiterunt; quos ego cenſor edicto meo ſuſtuleram: non quo (ut neſcio quos dicere aiebant) acui ingenia adoleſcentium nollem; ſed contra, ingenia obtundi nolui, corroborari impudentiam. Nam apud Græcos, cuicuimodi eſſent, videbam tamen eſſe, præter hanc exercitationem linguæ, doctrinam aliquam & humanitatem dignam ſcientia. Hos verò novos magiſtros nihil intelligebam poſſe docere, niſi impudere: quod, etiam cum bonis rebus conjunctum, per ſe ipſum eſt magnopere fugiendum. Hoc cum unum traderetur, & cum impudentiæ ludus eſſet, putavi eſſe cenſoris, ne longiùs id ſerperet, providere. *Lib.* 3. *de Orat.* n. 24.

"progreſs

"progreſs of youth in eloquence, but, on the con-
"trary, to prevent their minds from being cor-
"rupted and ſtupified, and their contracting pre-
"ſumption and impudence. For indeed I obſerv-
"ed that amongſt the Greek rhetoricians, how in-
"different ſoever their merit, beſides the exerciſe
"of ſpeaking, in which their profeſſion properly
"conſiſts, there always was a fund of ſolid and
"eſtimable knowledge. But I did not conceive
"that our youth could acquire any thing under
"theſe new maſters, unleſs it were boldneſs and
"confidence, always blameable, even when united
"with other good qualities. As this therefore
"was all they could learn of them, and their
"ſchools, to ſpeak properly, were only ſchools of
"impudence, I thought it my duty, as cenſor, to
"put a ſtop to ſuch abuſes, and prevent their per-
"nicious conſequences."

All I have hitherto ſaid proves how liable, in point of erudition and ſcience, new methods and eſtabliſhments are to obſtacles and contradictions, even from perſons of the greateſt merit, and of the beſt intentions in other reſpects. But *utility* and truth at laſt prevail, and open themſelves a way through all the difficulties that oppoſe them. When theſe ſtorms and troubles are blown over; when prejudices, frequently blind and precipitate, have given place to ſerious and calm reflection; and things are examined with temper and in cool blood; we are ſurpriſed that practices ſo uſeful in themſelves ſhould have been capable of meeting with ſuch oppoſition. This is the fate, though of a different kind, the philoſophy of Deſcartes experienced amongſt us, which was at firſt attacked warmly, and is now almoſt univerſally approved.

The ſame happened at Rome in regard to the Latin rhetoricians. They perceived at length how conſiſtent it was with right reaſon and good ſenſe

to

to form and exerciſe youth for eloquence in the language they were always to ſpeak; and after theſe firſt ſhocks, the ſchools of the Latin rhetoricians were eſtabliſhed in tranquillity, and did not a little contribute to the amazing progreſs of the ſtudy of eloquence in the ſucceeding years.

The Greek rhetoricians, however, were not neglected, and had a great ſhare in the improvement of which I have been ſpeaking. It is ſurpriſing to conſider the ardour and paſſion, with which the Roman youth went to hear theſe maſters, and even when of more advanced years. Cicero had begun to appear at the bar in his twenty-ſixth year. His pleadings for S. Roſcius Amerinus acquired him an extraordinary reputation. Molo, the celebrated Greek rhetorician, came to Rome about this time, as a deputy from the Rhodians. Cicero, highly capable as he already was, became his diſciple, and thought himſelf happy and honoured in receiving leſſons from him. After having pleaded two years, his health, or perhaps reaſons of policy, having obliged him to ſuſpend his application to buſineſs, and to make a voyage into Greece and Aſia, beſides the ſeveral maſters of eloquence, whom he heard at Athens and elſewhere, he went expreſsly to Rhodes, to put himſelf again under the diſcipline of Molo; in order that ſo excellent a maſter might take pains in reforming, and, in a manner, in new-moulding his ſtile: *Apollonio Moloni ſe Rhodi rurſus formandum ac velut recoquendum dedit.* Molo * was a very excellent pleader, and com-

De clar. orat. n. 312.

Ibid. n. 315, 316.

Quintil.

* Quibus non contentus, Rhodum veni, meque ad eundem quem, domæ audiveram, Molonem applicavi: cum actorem in veris cauſis, tum præmque præſtantem, tum in notandis animadvertendiſque vitiis inſtituendo docendoque prudentiſſimum. Is dedit operam (ſi modo id conſequi potuit) ut nimis redundantes nos & ſuperfluentes quodam quadam dicendi impunitate & licentia reprimeret, & quaſi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Ita recepi me, biennio poſt, non modo exercitatior, ſed prope mutatus. Nam & contentio nimia vocis reſederat, & quaſi deferbuerat oratio. *De clar. orat.* n. 316.

poſed very finely: but his principal happineſs lay in diſcerning and exploding the defects in the ſtile of thoſe who applied themſelves to him, and he had a wonderful happineſs in correcting them, by the wiſe advice and ſolid inſtructions he gave them. He endeavoured, for I dare not ſay he effected it, (ſays Cicero) to correct and reſtrain a vicious redundance in my ſtile, which too licentiouſly overflowed its juſt bounds, and taught me not to abandon myſelf to the impetuoſity of my years, and the fire of an imagination that wanted maturity and experience. Cicero confeſſes, that from thenceforth, a great alteration enſued in his manner, as well in regard to the tone of his voice, which he exerted no longer with ſo much vehemence, as his ſtile, which became more exact and correct.

Theſe young Romans muſt have had a very warm deſire to improve themſelves in eloquence, to take ſo much pains in going to hear the rhetoricians, and not to bluſh, though already in great reputation, to become their diſciples again, and to confeſs their ſtill having occaſion for their aid. But, on the other ſide, the merit of ſuch rhetoricians muſt have been very ſolid and well eſtabliſhed, to have acquired ſo great a confidence in it, and to have ſupported the idea which ſuch perſons as Cicero conceived of it.

Plotius, the firſt of the Latin rhetoricians, who gave occaſion for what I have hitherto ſaid, had, without doubt, colleagues and ſucceſſors, who acquitted themſelves of the ſame function with honour. Suetonius mentions ſeveral: but as they are little known, I proceed directly to Cicero, who indeed did not immediately teach eloquence as a maſter, but has left us excellent precepts upon it.

CICERO.

Cicero, by his treatiſes upon rhetoric, has juſtly merited the honour of being placed at the head of the Latin rhetorician, as he has by his orations that of the firſt rank amongſt the orators.

His tracts upon rhetoric are: *Three books de Oratore*; one book intitled ſimply *the Orator*; *A dialogue*, intitled *Brutus, upon the illuſtrious Orators*; two books upon *Invention*; the *Partes Oratoriæ*, *the complete Orator*, and the *Topics*. In this enumeration of Cicero's works upon eloquence, I do not follow the order of time in which they were compoſed.

I. The three firſt are abſolute maſter-pieces, in which what was called the *Roman urbanity*, *Urbanitos Romana*, prevails in a ſupreme degree, which anſwers to the atticiſm of the Greeks, that is to ſay, whatever was fineſt, moſt delicate, moſt animated, and, in a word, moſt conſummate as to thought, expreſſion, and tour of genius.

The three books *of the Orator* are, properly ſpeaking, Cicero's rhetoric: not a dry rhetoric, ſtuck with precepts, and deſtitute of grace and beauty, but one that, with the ſolidity of principles and reflections, unites all the art, delicacy, and ornament, of which a ſubject of that nature is ſuſceptible. He * compoſed this work at the requeſt of his brother Q. Cicero, who deſired to have ſomething more perfect of his than the books upon invention; which were the firſt-fruits of his youth, and by no means worthy the reputation he afterwards attained. To avoid the air and dryneſs of the

* Vis enim, quoniam quædam pueris aut adoleſcentulis nobis ex commentariolis noſtris inchoata atque rudia exciderunt, vix hac ætate digna & hoc uſu——aliquid iiſdem de rebus politius à nobis perfectiuſque proferri. *De orat.* l. 1. n. 2.

ſchools, he treats on this ſubject in dialogues, wherein he introduces, as ſpeakers, the greateſt and moſt famous perſons Rome had for wit, erudition, and eloquence. The time, wherein theſe dialogues are ſuppoſed to be held, is the 662d year from the foundation of Rome, and ninety years before Jeſus Chriſt, in the conſulſhip of L. Marcius Philippus and Sextus Julius Cæſar.

This manner of writing, I mean dialogue, is extremely difficult: becauſe, without mentioning the variety of characters, which muſt every-where be equally ſuſtained without the leaſt deviation from them, two things that ſeem almoſt incompatible muſt unite in them, the ſimple and natural air of familiar diſcourſe, with the elegant ſtile of the converſation of perſons of wit. Plato, of all the antient authors, is generally conceived to have ſucceeded beſt in dialogue. But we may indiſputably give Cicero an equal rank with him, to ſay no more, eſpecially in the treatiſes of which we now ſpeak. I do not know whether my eſteem and love for an orator, with whom I might ſay I have been brought up from my earlieſt infancy, prejudice and blind me in his favour; but, in my opinion there is in theſe converſations a taſte, a ſalt, a ſpirit, a grace, a native elegance, that can never be ſufficiently admired.

The third of the books I ſpeak of treats, amongſt other ſubjects, of the choice and order of words, a dry and diſagreeable topic in itſelf, but of great uſe to the Roman eloquence, and which, more than any thing, ſhews the profound genius and extent of mind of this orator. When he came firſt to the bar, he found the Roman eloquence abſolutely deſtitute of an advantage, which infinitely exalted that of the Greeks, to which he had devoted his whole application, and of which he knew all the beauties, as well as if it had been his native tongue,

ſo

ſo familiar had he made it to him by cloſe and profound ſtudy. This advantage was the ſound, number, cadence, and harmony, of which the Greek is more ſuſceptible than any other language, and which give it an inconteſtable ſuperiority in this view to them all. Cicero, who was extremely zealous for the honour of his country, undertook to impart to it this advantage, of which, till then, the Greeks had been in ſole poſſeſſion.

He* perceived that words, like ſoft wax, have a flexibility wonderfully capable of receiving every kind of form, and in being adapted in whatever manner we pleaſe. The proof of which is, that for all the different ſpecies of verſe, which are very numerous; for all the diverſity of ſtiles, the ſimple, the florid, and the ſublime; for all the effects which ſpeech is capable of producing, to pleaſe, to convince, to move; words of a different nature are not employed; but, taken from one common heap, to uſe that expreſſion, and alike diſpoſed for every uſe, they lend themſelves, at the poet's and orator's diſcretion, to be applied in whatever manner they think fit.

Cicero, well convinced of this principle, of which the reading and ſtudy of the Greek authors had given him a ſenſible proof, or rather which he had extracted from nature itſelf, undertook to add this charm to the Latin language, of which, be-

* Nihil eſt tam tenerum, neque tam flexibile, neque quod tam facile ſequatur quocumque ducas, quam oratio. Ex hac verſus, ex eadem dispares numeri conficiuntur: ex hac etiam ſolutа variis motus multorumque generum oratio. Non enim ſunt alia ſermonis, alia contentionis verba; neque ex alio genere ad uſum quotidianum, aliud ſcenam pompamque ſumuntur: ſed ea nos cum jacentia ſuſtulimus e medio, ſicut molliſſimam ceram ad noſtrum arbitrium fabricamus & fingimus. Itaque tum graves ſumus, tum ſubtiles, tum medium quiddam tenemus: ſic inſtitutam noſtram ſententiam ſequitur orationis genus, idque ad omnem rationem, & aurium voluptatem, & animorum motum imitatur & flectitur. *De orat.* l. 3. n. 167, 177.

fore his time, it was entirely deſtitute. This he effected with ſuch ſucceſs and promptitude, that in a few years it aſſumed a quite new form, and, what has no example, attained almoſt inſtantly a ſupreme perfection in this way. For every body knows, that generally the progreſs of arts and ſciences is ſlow, and that they do not attain their final maturity but by degrees.

This was not the caſe in the matter of which we are ſpeaking, that is to ſay, the number and harmony of ſpeech. Cicero ſeized almoſt immediately the fine and the perfect, and introduced into his language, by the happy arrangement of his words, a ſweetneſs, grace, and majeſty, which almoſt equalled it with the Greek; and with which the ear, of all who have the leaſt ſenſibility for ſound and harmony, is ſtill agreeably ſoothed. It is not ſurpriſing therefore, that this great orator, to ſecure to his language the advantage he had acquired it, and to perpetuate the uſe and poſſeſſion of it, ſhould think it incumbent on him to treat on this ſubject in all it's extent. Accordingly he enters upon it with a vaſt enumeration of things, which cannot afford us any pleaſure now, to whom this is a foreign language, but which was extremely uſeful and important at the time he wrote it; and it is eaſy to perceive, that he has treated on it with particular attention, and has employed the whole extent of his learning and capacity, to diſplay it in all its brighteſt colours. Accordingly, Quintilian * obſerves, that of all his works of rhetoric, this piece is the moſt elaborate.

The ſame ſervice has been done the French language; and, if I miſtake not, Balzac was the firſt who diſcerned himſelf, and made others diſcern,

* Cui (M. Tullio) neſcio an ulla pars hujus operis ſit magis elaborata. *Lib.* 9. c. 4.

how

how ſuſceptible it is of the graces of number, harmony, and cadence. Since his time, this part of compoſition has been very much improved: Mr. Flechier particularly, and all our good writers, leave us nothing to deſire in this point. It is highly important to make youth attentive to it, and to accuſtom their ears to a lively and inſtantaneous diſcernment of what is ſweet and agreeable, or harſh and diſſonant, in the diſpoſition of words. The treatiſe, lately publiſhed by the Abbé Olivat, upon the proſody of the French tongue, may be of great uſe to this purpoſe.

I have already ſaid, that the three books *de Oratore* may be conſidered as the rhetoric of Cicero. And indeed he has included in it almoſt all the precepts of that art, not in the common didactic order of the ſchools, but in a more free manner, and one that ſeems leſs ſtudied; to which he has annexed reflections that infinitely exalt their value, and ſhew their juſt uſe.

II. The book, intitled *the Orator*, does not give place to the former, either in beauty or ſolidity. Cicero ſtates in it the idea of a perfect orator, not of one that ever was, but of ſuch an one as may be. He ſets a particular value upon this work, and ſeems to think of it with great ſatisfaction and complacency; and does not heſitate to own, that he employed the whole extent of his wit, and all the force of his judgment, in compoſing it; which is ſaying a great deal. He explains himſelf to this effect, in writing to a * friend, who had highly ap-

* Oratorem meum tantoperè à te probari vehementer gaudeo. Mihi quidem ſuper ſuadeo, me, quicquid habuerim judicii, in illum librum contuliſſe. Qui ſi eſt talis, qualem tibi videri ſcribis; ego quoque aliquid ſum. Sin aliter, non recuſo quin, quantum de illo libro, tantundem de judicii mei fama detrahatur. Leptam noſtrum ſapio delectari jam talibus ſcriptis. Etſi abeſt maturitas ætatis, jam tamen perſonare aures ejus hujuſmodi vocibus non eſt inutile. *Epiſt.* 19. l. 6. *ad Famil.*

proved this work, and conſents that whatever judgment the public formed of it, whether good or bad, ſhall determine the author's reputation. He adds, (which I mention for the ſake of our youth) that he ſhould be glad if young Lepta, who was his friend's ſon, begins ſo early to read works of that kind with ſome pleaſure; becauſe, though his years did not admit his making all the improvements they were capable of affording, it was of ſome conſequence to him to be early affected with leſſons of that ſort.

III. The *Brutus* of Cicero is a dialogue concerning the moſt famous Greek and Roman orators who had appeared to his time: for he mentions none who were then alive, except Cæſar and Marcellus. This work was compoſed ſome time before the former. and perhaps the ſame year.

In the long enumeration contained in this book, wherein Cicero particularly remarks upon the ſtile of a great number of orators, there is an admirable variety of portraits and characters, which all relate to the ſame ſubject, without however reſembling each other in the leaſt. He interſperſes reflections, and a kind of digreſſion, from time to time, which add to the value of the piece, and may be of great uſe in forming the orator.

IV. His treatiſe *upon the moſt perfect kind of Oratory* is very ſhort. Cicero maintains in it, that the Attick ſtile is far the moſt perfect, but that it includes the three different kinds of eloquence, and that the orator makes uſe of them as his ſubject requires. To convince thoſe of this who are of a different opinion, he tranſlated the celebrated orations of Æſchines againſt Demoſthenes, and of Demoſthenes againſt Æſchines. The work we now ſpeak of was only a kind of preface to that tranſlation, of which we cannot ſufficiently regret the loſs.

V. The

V. The topics of Cicero contain the method of finding arguments by the means of certain terms, which characteriſe them, and are called *common places of Rhetoric*, or *of Logic*. We are indebted, for the invention or perfection of this art, to Ariſtotle. Cicero compoſed this treatiſe at the requeſt of Trebatus the lawyer, one of his friends, to explain that written by the philoſopher upon this ſubject. There is one thing remarkable in this work, which ſhews the genius, memory, and facility of Cicero in compoſing; this was his not having that philoſopher's book, when he undertook to explain him. He was upon a voyage and at ſea, as he tells us himſelf in this book. He recalled to his remembrance Ariſtotle's work, explained it, and ſent what he had done to his friend. He muſt have known it perfectly well, and have had it very ſtrongly in his mind, to have worked upon it only from his memory. Τόποι. Locus. Topic. n. 5.

VI. The *Partes Oratoriæ* are a very good rhetoric, diſpoſed in diviſions and ſubdiviſions of ſubjects (from whence it takes its title). Its ſtile is very ſimple, but clear, ſuccinct, and elegant, and well adapted to the capacity of beginners; ſo that, with the addition of examples, it might be uſed with ſucceſs, though Cicero did not think proper to annex any to it.

VII. The books of Rhetoric, or *De Inventione Oratoria*, are certainly Cicero's. Only the two firſt remain: the two others are loſt. I have already obſerved, that he compoſed them during his youth, and that he afterwards thought them unworthy his reputation. De orat. l. 1. n. 5.

The rhetoric to Herennius.

It is not eaſy to know who was the author of the four books of rhetoric inſcribed to *Herennius*, which we

we find in the front of Cicero's works. In the common editions the title ſays it was not known; but ſome of the learned aſcribe them to Cornificius. It is a rhetoric in form, of which the ſtile, though ſimple and familiar, is pure and Ciceronian; which has given ſome people reaſon to believe it a work of Cicero's: but this opinion admits of great difficulties.

SENECA THE RHETORICIAN.

Seneca, of whom we ſpeak in this place, was born at Corduba in Spain, about the 700th year of the city of Rome, fifty-three years before Jeſus Chriſt. His ſirname was *Marcus*. He came to ſettle at Rome in the reign of Auguſtus, whither he brought with him his wife *Helvia*, and three ſons. The firſt called *Meta*, was the father of the poet Lucan; the philoſopher's name was *Lucius*; and the third ſon's *Novatus*: but this laſt being adopted into another family, he took the name of his father by adoption *Junius Gallio*. Mention is made of him in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*.

Acts xviii. 12.

Seneca the father collected, from more than an hundred authors, as well Greeks as Romans, whatever was moſt remarkable, that they had either ſaid or thought upon the different ſubjects they had treated on in emulation of each other, by way of exerciſing their eloquence according to the cuſtom of thoſe times. Of the ten books of *Controverſies* or *Diſputations*, contained in this collection, ſcarce five remain, and thoſe very defective. To the books of controverſies, one of deliberations is prefixed, though it is known, that Seneca did not publiſh it till after the former.

Theſe works of Seneca give Mr. Gibert occaſion to explain, with great order and evidence, the eſteem and uſe in which *Declaiming* was of old. I ſhall

ſhall inſert in this place that little tract almoſt entirely; which will be of great ſervice for the underſtanding of what will be ſaid in the ſequel, upon the manner in which the rhetoricians formed young perſons for eloquence.

Declamation is a word which occurs in * *Horace*, and ſtill more in † *Juvenal:* though it was ‡ not known at Rome before Cicero and Calvus. The compoſitions were ſo called, by which eloquence was exerciſed, and of which the ſubjects, true or feigned, were ſometimes in the deliberative, ſometimes in the judiciary, and ſeldom in the demonſtrative kind. The diſcourſes made upon theſe ſubjects were an image of what paſſed in the public councils and at the bar.

Declaiming was the method taken by || Cicero whilſt young to become an orator, which at that time he practiſed in Greek. He continued to uſe it, when more advanced in years, but in Latin. He exerciſed himſelf in the ſame manner, even when the troubles of the ſtate had obliged him to abandon the bar. At that time he repeated to Caſſius and Dolabella, or others, the harangues of this kind, which he had only compoſed by way of exerciſe. This was the common method of all who aſpired at eloquence, or were willing to acquire perfection in it; that is to ſay, the principal perſons of the ſtate. They applied themſelves to it under the direction of Cicero, and improved themſelves by his advice. § *Hirtius and Dolabella*, ſays

Cic. l. 7. Epiſt. 33. ad Famil. Id. de clar. Orat. n. 310.

* Trojani belli ſcriptorem ———
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneſte relegi.
Hor. Ep. 1. lib. 2.

† Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias.
Juven. Sat. 10.

‡ Apud nullum auctorem antiquum, ante ipſum Ciceronem & Calvum, inveniri poteſt. *Senec. Controv.* l. 1.

|| Cicero ad Præturam uſque græcè declamavit, latinè verò ſenior quoque. *Sueton. de clar. Rhet.*

§ Hirtium ego & Dolabellam dicendi diſcipulos habeo, cœnandi magiſtros. Puto enim te audiſſe——illos apud me declamitare, me apud illos cœnitare. *Epiſt.* 16. l. 9.

Cicero,

Cicero, *come often to declaim at my houſe, and I as often go to ſup with them.* They came to him either to repeat or correct their diſcourſes; after which he went home with them to ſupper, their tables being better than his own.

Suet. de clar. Rhet.

Pompey the Great applied himſelf alſo very cloſely to declamation a little before the civil wars, to inable himſelf to anſwer Curio, who had ſold his talent to Cæſar's intereſts, and gave the oppoſite party great diſquiet. Mark Antony did the ſame to reply to Cicero; and Octavius, even at the ſiege of Modena, did not omit this exerciſe. We muſt remember, that at Rome, whether in the ſenate or before the people, eloquence generally determined the moſt important affairs, and thereby became abſolutely neceſſary to thoſe who aſpired at being powerful in them.

Epiſt. 21. l. 16. ad Famil.

I omit Cicero's ſon Marcus, who exerciſed himſelf alſo both in Greek and Latin, but not with the ſame ſucceſs.

Demetrius Phalereus is ſaid to have been the inventor of declamation: and Plotius Gallus, of whom we have ſpoken above, was the firſt who introduced the uſe of it in the Latin tongue.

It was, according to this idea of declamation, that all the lovers of eloquence, whether Greeks or Romans, aſſembled in the houſes of perſons eminent in the ſame way, ſuch for inſtance as Seneca, where they pronounced diſcourſes upon ſubjects before agreed upon. Our author had the greateſt memory conceivable. He cites ſeveral examples of a like nature. Cyneas, Pyrrhus's ambaſſador, having had audience of the ſenate upon his arrival, the next day ſaluted all the ſenators and people who had been preſent at it in great numbers by their names. A certain perſon, having heard a poem repeated, to ſurpriſe the author of it, pretended it was his work, and to prove it, repeated the

Senec. in Præf. Controv.

the whole without heſitating, which the author could not do himſelf. Hortenſius, in conſequence of a challenge, ſtayed an whole day at a ſale of goods by auction, and at night repeated, in the order they were ſold, without the leaſt miſtake, the names of the ſeveral moveables, and of the perſons that bought them. Seneca's memory was ſcarce leſs admirable. He ſays, that in his youth he repeated two thouſand words after having only heard them once over, and that too in the ſame order they had been ſpoken. It was by this wonderful talent, whatever was moſt curious, in all the declamations he had ever heard, was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed upon his mind, that long after, in a very advanced age, he was capable of recalling it to his remembrance, though conſiſting of ſo many detached paſſages; and reduced them to writing for the uſe of his ſons, and to tranſmit them to poſterity.

I ſhall have occaſion, before I conclude this article, to explain in what manner delamation conduced to occaſion the decay and corruption of the taſte for true eloquence.

Dialogue upon the orators, or upon the cauſes of the corruption of eloquence.

The author of this work is unknown. Some aſcribe it to Tacitus, others to Quintilian, but without much foundation. What we may be aſſured of is, that it is a proof of his wit and capacity whoever he was, and deſerves a place amongſt the beſt works after the Auguſtan age, from the purity and beauty of which it muſt however be allowed to be very remote. There are very fine paſſages in it. What he ſays by way of panegyric upon the profeſſion of pleaders, ſeems to me of this kind. It is proper

proper to remind the reader, that it is an heathen who ſpeaks.

" * The pleaſure which ariſes from eloquence, " ſays he, is not rapid and momentary, but the " growth of every day, and almoſt every hour. " And indeed, what can be more grateful to an " ingenuous mind, that has a taſte for exalted ſa- " tisfaction, than to ſee his houſe continually " thronged by crowds of the moſt conſiderable " perſons in a city? To be conſcious that it is not " to his riches, office, or authority, but to his per- " ſon that they come to pay this honour? The " greateſt wealth, the moſt ſplendid dignities, have " they any thing ſo delightful and affecting, as the " voluntary homage, which perſons, equally to " be reſpected for their birth and age, come to " render to the merit and knowledge of an advo- " cate, though often young, and ſometimes deſti- " tute of the goods of fortune, in imploring the

* Ad voluptatem oratoriæ eloquentiæ tranſeo, cujus jucunditas non uno aliove momento, ſed omnibus prope diebus, & prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulcius libero & ingenuo animo, & ad voluptates honeſtas nato, quam videre plenam ſemper & frequentem domum concurſu ſplendidiſſimorum hominum? Idque ſcire non pecuniæ, non orbitati, neque officii alicujus adminiſtrationi, ſed ſibi ipſi dari! Illos quinimo orbos, & locupletes, & potentes, venire plerumque ad juvenem & pauperem, ut aut ſua, aut amicorum diſcrimina commendent. Ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magnæ potentiæ voluptas, quam ſpectare homines veteres, & ſenes, & totius urbis gratia ſubnixos, in ſumma rerum omnium abundantia confitentes, id quod optimum ſit ſe non habere? Jam vero qui rogatorum comitatus & egreſſus! quæ in publico ſpecies! quæ in judiciis veneratio! quod gaudium conſurgendi aſſiſtendique inter tacentes, in unum converſos! coire populum, & circumfundi coram, & accipere affectum quemcumque orator induerit. Vulgata dicentium gaudia & imperitorum quoque oculis expoſita percenſeo. Illa ſecretiora, & tantum ipſis orantibus nota, majora ſunt. Sive accuratam meditatamque affert orationem, eſt quoddam, ſicut ipſius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus & conſtantia. Sive novam & recentem curam non ſine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipſa ſollicitudo commendat eventum, & lenocinatur voluptati. Sed extemporalis audaciæ, atque ipſius temeritatis, vel præcipua jucunditas eſt. Nam ingenio quoque, ſicut in agro, quanquam alia diu ſerantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quæ ſua ſponte naſcuntur. *Cap.* 6.

" aid

" aid of his eloquence, either for themſelves or " their friends, and confeſſing, in the midſt of the " affluence with which they are ſurrounded, that " they are ſtill in want of what is moſt valuable " and excellent? What ſhall I ſay of the officious " zeal of the citizens to attend him whenever he " goes abroad, or returns to his houſe? Of the " numerous audiences in which all eyes are fixed " on him alone, whilſt a profound ſilence reigns " univerſally, with no other interruption but ſtarts " of admiration and applauſes? In fine, of that " abſolute power which he has over mens minds, " by inſpiring them with ſuch ſentiments as he " pleaſes? Nothing is more glorious and exalted " than what I have now ſaid. But there is ſtill " another pleaſure more intenſe and affecting, known " only to the orator himſelf. If he pronounces a " diſcourſe, that he has had time to ſtudy and " poliſh at leiſure, his joy as well as diction has " ſomething more ſolid and more aſſured in it. " If he has only ſome few moments reflection al- " lowed him to prepare himſelf for his cauſe, the " very anxiety he feels upon that account, makes " the ſucceſs more grateful to him, and exalts the " pleaſure it gives him. But what ſtill ſoothes him " more agreeably, is the ſucceſs of an unpreme- " ditated diſcourſe, ventured extemporaneouſly. " For the productions of the mind are like thoſe " of the earth. The fruits, which coſt no trouble, " and grow ſpontaneouſly, are more grateful than " thoſe we are obliged to purchaſe with abundance " of pains and cultivation."

We cannot, in my opinion, deny that there are in this deſcription a great many ingenious and ſolid thoughts, ſtrong and emphatical expreſſions, and lively and eloquent turns. Perhaps there is too much wit and ſhining conceit in it: but that was the fault of the age.

I ſhall

I ſhall add here another very fine paſſage from the ſame author, in which he aſcribes the principal cauſes of the corruption of eloquence to the bad education of children:

" Who * does not know, that what has occaſion-
" ed eloquence and the other arts to degenerate
" from their antient perfection, is not the want of
" genius, but the indolence into which youth are
" fallen, the negligence of parents in the educa-
" tion of their children, the ignorance of the
" maſters employed to inſtruct them, in fine, the
" oblivion and contempt of the taſte of the an-
" tients. Theſe evils, which had their riſe at
" Rome, have diſperſed themſelves from the city
" into the country of Italy, and infected all the
" provinces.——

" Of old, in every houſe, it was a cuſtom for a
" child, born of an ingenious mother, not to be
" ſent to the cottage of a nurſe bought amongſt
" ſlaves, but to be nurtured and educated in the
" boſom of her who bore him, whoſe merit and
" praiſe it was to take care of her houſe and chil-
" dren. Some female relation in years, and of

* Quis ignorat & eloquentiam & ceteras artes deſciviſſe ab iſta vetere gloria, non inopia hominum, ſed deſidia juventutis, & negligentia parentum, & inſcientia præcipientium, & oblivione moris antiqui? quæ mala primùm in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fuſa, jam in provincias manant——

Jam primùm ſuus cuique filius, ex caſta parente natus, non in cella emptæ nutricis, ſed gremio aut ſinu matris educabatur; cujus præcipua laus erat tueri domum, & inſervire liberis. Eligebatur autem aliqua major natu propinqua, cujus probatis ſpectatiſque moribus omnis cujuſpiam familiæ ſoboles committebatur: coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhoneſtum factu videretur. Ac non ſtudia modo curaſque, ſed remiſſiones etiam luſuſque puerorum, ſanctitate quadam ac verecundia temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, ſic Aureliam Cæſaris, ſic Attiam Auguſti matrem præfuiſſe educationibus, ac produxiſſe principes liberos accepimus. Quæ diſciplina ac ſeveritas eò pertinebat, ut ſincera & integra & nullis pravitatibus decorata uniuſcujuſque natura, toto ſtatim pectore arriperet artes honeſtas: &, ſive ad rem militarem, ſive ad juris ſcientiam, ſive ad eloquentiæ ſtudium inclinaſſet, id ſolum ageret, id univerſum hauriret. *Cap.* 28.

" known

" known virtue and probity, was choſen to have " the care of all the children of the family, in " whoſe preſence nothing contrary to decency and " good manners was ſuffered to be ſpoken or done " with impunity. She found the means to unite " not only their ſtudies and application, but even " their play and recreations, with a certain air of " modeſty and reſerve, that tempered their ardour " and vivacity. It is thus we find that Cornelia " the mother of the Gracchi, Aurelia of Cæſar, " and Attia of Auguſtus, governed their children, " and made them capable of appearing in the " world with ſplendor. The view of this ſtrict " and manly education was to prepare the minds " of children, by preſerving them in all their na- " tural purity and integrity, and preventing their " being infected with any bad principle, to em- " brace the ſtudy of arts and ſciences with ardour; " and, whether they choſe the profeſſion of arms, " or applied themſelves to the laws or eloquence, " that they might addict themſelves ſolely to their " profeſſion, and the attainment of a perfection " in that alone.

" But, * in theſe days, no ſooner is a child born, " but he is given to ſome Greek ſlave, with a ſer- " vant or two more to attend her, of the meaneſt " and moſt uſeleſs ſort in the family. At this ten-

* At nunc natus infans delegatur Græculæ alicui ancillæ, cui adjungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus ſervis plerumque viliſſimus, nec cuiquam ſerio miniſterio accommodatus. Horum fabulis & erroribus teneri ſtatim & rudes animi imbuuntur. Nec quiſquam in tota domo penſum habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat, aut faciat: quando etiam ipſi parentes nec probitati neque modeſtiæ parvulos aſſuefaciunt, ſed laſciviæ & libertati: per quæ paulatim impudentia irrepit, & ſui alienique contemptus. Jam vero propria & peculiaria hujus urbis vitia pœne in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor, & gladiatorum equorumque ſtudia. Quibus occupatus & obſeſſus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? quotumquemque inveneris qui domi quidquam aliud loquatur? quos alios adoleſcentulorum ſermones excipimuſt, ſi quando auditoria intravimus? *Cap.* 29.

" der age, ſuſceptible of all impreſſions, he hears " nothing but the frivolous, and often looſe and " abandoned, itories of the loweſt domeſtics. " None of them have the leaſt regard for what " they ſay or do before their young maſter. And " indeed, what attention of that kind can be ex- " pected from them, whilſt the parents themſelves " accuſtom their children, not to modeſty and good " manners, but to every kind of freedom and " licentiouſneſs: from whence enſues by degrees " an air of declared impudence, void of regard " either for themſelves or others. There are, be- " ſides this, certain vices peculiar to this city, " which ſeem almoſt to have been conceived with " them in their mother's womb: ſuch are the taſte " for theatrical ſhews, gladiators, and chariot- " races. Are not theſe almoſt the only ſubjects of " converſation amongſt young people, and indeed " all companies? Is it probable, that a mind in- " tent upon, and in a manner beſieged by, theſe " trifling amuſements, ſhould be very capable of " applying to ſerious ſtudies?"

Theſe two paſſages ſuffice to give the reader ſome idea of this work, and to make him regret that it is not come down entire to us.

This dialogue may be divided into three parts. The firſt introduces an advocate and a poet contending upon the pre-eminence of their reſpective arts, and enlarging in praiſe of them, the one of eloquence, and the other of poetry. The ſecond part is a ſpeech of the ſame advocate, whom the author calls Aper, in favour of the orators of his times againſt the antients. He lived in the reign of Veſpaſian, and was at the head of the bar. The third part of the work is an inquiry into the cauſes of the fall or corruption of eloquence. The ſpeakers are Meſſala, Secundus, Maternus, and Aper. All that Secundus, and part of what Maternus,

terpus, ſaid, is loſt, which makes a great chaſm in the work, without mentioning ſeveral other defective paſſages.

QUINTILIAN: *(Marcus Fabius Quintilianus.)*

I ſhall reduce what I have to ſay upon Quintilian to three heads: Firſt, I ſhall relate what is known of his hiſtory: Secondly, I ſhall ſpeak of his work, and give the plan of it: And, laſtly, I ſhall explain the method of inſtructing youth and teaching rhetoric, as practiſed in his time.

I. *What is known of Quintilian's hiſtory.*

It appears that Quintilian was born in the ſecond year of the emperor Claudius, which is the forty-ſecond of Jeſus Chriſt. Mr. Dodwell conjectures this in his annals upon Quintilian, who is my guide in chronology as to what relates to the birth, life, and employments of our rhetorician, which he has diſpoſed in a very clear and probable order.

The place of his birth is diſputed. Many ſay that he was a native of Calagurris, a city of Spain, upon the Heber, now called *Calahorra*. Others believe, with ſufficient foundation, that he was born at Rome.

It is not certainly known whether he was the ſon or grandſon of the orator Fabius, mentioned by Seneca the father, and placed by him in the number of thoſe orators, whoſe reputation dies with them. Senec. Controv. l. 5. in præf.

Quintilian, without doubt, frequented the ſchools of the rhetoricians at Rome, in which youth were taught eloquence. He uſed another more effectual method for the attainment of it, which was to make himſelf the diſciple of the orators of the greateſt reputation. Domitius Afer held at that

time the firſt rank amongſt them. Quintilian did not content himſelf with hearing him plead at the bar; he often viſited him; and that venerable old man, though the admiration of the age he lived in, did not diſdain to converſe with a youth, in whom he obſerved great and very promiſing talents. This important ſervice thoſe, who are grown old with glory in this illuſtrious profeſſion, have in their power to render their juniors, eſpecially when they have quitted the bar for the ſake of retirement. Their * houſes may then become a kind of public ſchools for the youth, who may addreſs themſelves to them, to be informed by what means they muſt ſucceed. Quintilian knew how to improve Afer's good-will to his own advantage; and it appears, by the queſtions he propoſed to him, that he had in view the forming of his taſte and judgment by theſe converſations. He † aſked him one day which of the poets he thought came neareſt Homer. *Virgil*, ſays Afer, *is the ſecond, but much nearer the firſt than the third.* He had the grief to ſee this great man, who had ſo long done honour to the bar, ſurvive his own reputation, from not having known how to apply the wiſe advice of ‡ Horace, and from having choſen rather to ſink under the weight of his function than retire, as he is reproached; *malle eum deficere, quàm deſinere.* Domi-

Quintil. l. 12. c. 11.

* Frequentabunt ejus domum optimi juvenes more veterum, & veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent. Hos ille formabit, quaſi eloquentiæ parens. *Quintil.* l. 12. c. 11.

† Utar verbis iiſdem quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accepi: qui mihi interroganti, quem Homero crederet maximè accedere; Secundus, inquit, eſt Virgilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

‡ Solve ſeneſcentem mature ſanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & ilia ducat.
Hor. Ep. 1. l. 1.

Prudent diſmiſs the courſer from the race,
Leſt age and broken wind his youth diſgrace.

tius

tius Afer died in the 59th year of the Chriſtian Æra, the ſame year that Juvenal was born.

Two years after, Nero ſent Galba governor into Hiſpania Tarraconenſis. It is believed that Quintilian followed him thither, and that, after having taught rhetoric, and exerciſed the profeſſion of an advocate during upwards of ſeven years, he returned to Rome with him. An. J. C. 61.

It was about the end of this year that Galba was declared emperor, and Quintilian opened a ſchool of rhetoric at Rome. He was the firſt who taught it there by public authority, and with a ſalary from the ſtate; for which he was indebted to Veſpaſian. For, according to * Suetonius, that prince was the firſt that aſſigned the rhetoricians, both Greeks and Romans, penſions out of the public treaſury, to the amount of twelve thouſand five hundred livres. *About* 600*l. ſterling.* Before this eſtabliſhment there were maſters who taught it without being authoriſed by the public. Beſides the penſions received by theſe rhetoricians from the ſtate, the fathers † paid a ſum for the inſtruction of their children, which Juvenal thought very ſmall in compariſon with thoſe they expended on trivial occaſions. For, according to him, nothing coſt a father leſs than his ſon, though he regretted every thing expended on his education: *Res nulla minoris Conſtabit patri quam filius.* This ſum amounted to two hundred and fifty livres: *Duo ſeſtercia.* Quintilian was public profeſſor of rhetoric twenty years with univerſal applauſe. An. J. C. 68. Suet. in Veſp. c. 18.

He exerciſed, at the ſame time, and with the ſame ſucceſs, the function of an advocate, and acquired alſo great reputation at the bar. When the diffe-

* Primus è fiſco Latinis Græciſque rhetoribus annua centena conſtituit.

† Hos inter ſumptus ſeſtertia Quintiliano
Ut multum duo ſufficient. Res nulla minoris
Conſtabit patri quàm filius.
Juv. Sat. 7. l. 3.

Quint. l. 4. c. 2. rent parts of a cauſe were diſtributed to different pleaders, as was the cuſtom of old, he was generally choſen to ſtate or open the matter of it, which

Id. l. 6. c. 2. requires great method and perſpicuity. He excelled alſo in the art of moving the paſſions; and he* confeſſes, with that modeſt freedom natural to him, that he was often ſeen, in pleading, not only to ſhed tears, but to change countenance, turn pale, and expreſs all the ſigns of the moſt lively and ſincere affliction. He does not deny but it was to this talent that he owed his reputation at the bar. And indeed it is chiefly by this character, that an orator diſtinguiſhes himſelf, and conciliates all the ſuffrages in his favour.

We ſhall ſoon ſee how well qualified he was to inſtruct youth, and in what manner he acquired the love and eſteem of every body on that account. Amongſt the many illuſtrious diſciples that frequented his ſchool, Pliny the younger did him moſt honour, by the beauty of his genius, the elegance and ſolidity of his ſtile, the admirable ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, his liberality to men of learning, and his peculiar warmth of gratitude for his maſter, of which he afterwards gave him a moſt illuſtrious proof.

After having devoted entirely twenty years to the inſtruction of youth in the ſchool, and the defence of clients at the bar, he obtained the emperor Domitian's permiſſion to quit both thoſe equally uſe-

Quint. l. 12. c. 11. ful and laborious employments. Inſtructed by the ſad example of his maſter Domitius Afer, he believed it proper to think of a retreat, before it became abſolutely neceſſary; and that he could not put a more graceful period to his labours, than by

* Hæc diſſimulanda mihi non fuerunt, quibus, ipſe, quantuſcumque ſum aut fui, (nam perveniſſe me ad aliquod nomen ingenii credo) frequenter motus ſum ut me non lacrymæ ſolum deprehenderint, ſed pallor, & vero ſimilis dolor. *Quintil.*

renouncing

renouncing them, at a time when he ſhould be regretted: *Honeſtiſſimum finem putabamus deſinere dum deſideraremur*; whereas Domitius choſe rather to ſink under the weight of his profeſſion, than to lay it down. It was upon this occaſion that he gives wiſe advice to his brethren the pleaders. **The orator*, ſays he, *if he would take my opinion, would ſound a retreat, before he fell into the ſnares of age, and gain the port, whilſt his veſſel was ſound and in good condition.*

Quintilian, however, at that time, was only ſix or ſeven and forty years old, a florid and robuſt time of life. Perhaps his long application had begun to impair his health. However that were, his was not a leiſure of indolence and ſloth, but of activity and ardour, ſo that he became in ſome meaſure ſtill more uſeful to the public than he had ever been by all his paſt labours. For indeed the latter were confined within the narrow bounds of a certain number of perſons and years; whereas the works, which were the fruit of his retirement, have inſtructed all ages: and we may ſay, that Quintilian's ſchool has continued the ſchool of mankind from his death, and ſtill continues to reſound with the admirable precepts he has left us upon eloquence. An. J. C. 88.

He began by compoſing a treatiſe *upon the cauſes of the corruption of eloquence*, the loſs of which can never be ſufficiently regretted. It undoubtedly is not the piece ſtill extant under the title of *a dialogue upon the orators*. An. J. C. 89.

At the time when he began this work, he loſt the youngeſt of his two ſons only five years of age: and ſome months after a ſudden death deprived him of his wife, who was only nineteen years old, and even ſomething leſs. Quintil. in Procem. l. 6.

* Antequam in has ætatis veniat inſidias, receptui canet, & in portum integra nave perveniet. *Quint.* l. 12. c. 11.

An. J. C. 90. Some time after, at the ſollicitation of his friends, he began his great work, the *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ*, conſiſting of twelve books: of which I ſhall give an account in the ſequel.

An. J. C. 91. Quintil. in Procem. l. 4. Sueton. in Domit. c. 15. He had finiſhed the firſt three books of it, when the emperor Domitian committed the two young princes, his great nephews, whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſors, to his care. They were the grandſons of his ſiſter Domitilla, whoſe daughter, named alſo Domitilla, had married Flavius Clemens, the emperor's couſin-german, by whom ſhe had thoſe two princes. This was a new motive to him for redoubling his application to complete his work. His own words deſerve repeating, the paſſage being remarkable. "* Hitherto", ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to Victorinus, to whom he dedicates this piece, "I wrote only for you and me; and "confining thoſe inſtructions to our own houſes, "when the public did not think fit to approve "them, I thought myſelf too happy that they "might be uſeful to your ſon and mine; but ſince "the emperor has vouchſafed to charge me with "the education of his nephews, ſhould I eſteem "as I ought the approbation of a God, and know

* Adhuc velut ſtudia inter nos conferebamus; &, ſi parum noſtra inſtitutio probaretur à ceteris, contenti fore domeſtico uſu videbamur, ut tui meique filii diſciplinam formare ſatis putaremus. Cum verò mihi Domitianus Auguſtus ſororis ſuæ nepotum delegaverit curam, non ſatis honorem judiciorum cœleſtium intelligam, niſi ex hoc quoque oneris, magnitudinem metiar. Quis enim mihi aut mores excolendi ſit modus, ut eos non immeritò probaverit ſanctiſſimus Cenſor? aut ſtudia, ne fefelliſſe in his videar Principem, ut in omnibus, ita in eloquentia quoque eminentiſſimum? Quod ſi nemo miratur Poëtas maximos ſæpe feciſſe, ut non ſolum initiis operum ſuorum Muſas invocarent, ſed provecti quoque longiùs, cum ad aliquem graviorem locum veniſſent, repeterent vota, & velut nova precatione uterentur: mihi quoque profectò poterit ignoſci, ſi, quod initio, cum primum hanc materiam inchoavi, non fecerim, nunc omnes in auxilium deos, ipſumque imprimis, quo neque præſentius aliud, neque ſtudiis magis propitium numen eſt, invocem; ut, quantum nobis expectationis adjecit, tantum ingenii aſpiret, dexterque ac volens adſit, & me, qualem eſſe credidit, faciat.

"the

" the value of the honour he has conferred upon " me, if I did not meaſure the greatneſs of my " undertaking by that idea. And indeed, in what- " ever manner I conſider it, whether in regard to " manners, or on the ſide of knowledge and art, " what ought I not to do, to deſerve the eſteem " of ſo ſacred a cenſor; a prince, in whoſe perſon " ſupreme eloquence is united with ſupreme pow- " er? If then we are not ſurpriſed to ſee the moſt " excellent poets, not only invoke the muſes at " the beginning of their works, but again implore " their aſſiſtance, whenever in the courſe of it " ſome new important object ariſes to be treated " on; with how much greater reaſon ought I to be " pardoned, if what I did not at firſt I now do, " and call all the gods to my aid, particularly " him, under whoſe auſpices I write from hence- " forth, and who, more than all the reſt, preſides " over ſtudy and ſcience? May he then be propi- " tious to me; and proportioning his graces to the " high idea he hath given of me, in a choice ſo " glorious and ſo difficult to ſuſtain, may he in- " ſpire my mind with the force and elevation it " wants, and render me ſuch as he hath believed " me. *Et me, qualem eſſe credidit, faciat.*"

It muſt be confeſſed, that there is in this compliment abundance of wit, loftineſs, and grandeur, eſpecially in the thought with which it concludes: *And render me ſuch as he hath believed me.* But is it poſſible to carry flattery and impiety to a greater height, than to treat a prince as a God, who was a monſter of vice and cruelty. Nor am I even ſure whether the laſt thought be ſo juſt as it is ſhining: *And render me ſuch as he has believed me.* He was not ſuch then in reality: and how came this pretended god to believe he was? Again, if, inſtead of extolling the regularity and purity of his manners, he had contented himſelf with enlarging upon his eloquence,

quence, and the other talents of the mind upon which he valued himſelf, the flattery had been leſs odious. He praiſes him in another place in the ſame manner, where he prefers him above all other poets; at which time it is very likely, that the conſular ornaments were conferred upon Quintilian.

Lib. 10. c. 1.

The care of the young princes education, with which Quintilian was charged, did not hinder him from working upon his book, the *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ*. His regard for his only ſurviving ſon, whoſe happy genius and diſpoſition merited his whole tenderneſs and attention, was a powerful motive with him for haſtening that work, which he conſidered as the moſt valuable part of the inheritance he ſhould leave him; in order, ſays he himſelf, that, if any unforeſeen accident ſhould deprive that dear child of his father, he might, even after his death, ſerve him as a guide and præceptor.

Quintil. in Procem. l. 6.

An. J. C. 92.

Continually filled therefore with the thought and apprehenſion of his mortality, he laboured night and day upon his work; and had already finiſhed the fifth book of it, when an early death robbed him of that darling child, in whom his whole joy and conſolation was centered. This was to him, after the loſs he had already ſuſtained of his youngeſt ſon, a new ſtroke of thunder, that entirely overwhelmed him with anguiſh and affliction. His grief, or rather deſpair, vented itſelf in complaints and reproaches againſt the gods themſelves, whom he loudly accuſed of injuſtice and cruelty; declaring, that it was plain, after ſo cruel and unjuſt a treatment, which neither himſelf nor his children had deſerved, that there was no providence to ſuperintend affairs below.

Diſcourſes of this kind ſhew, in a clear light, what even the moſt perfect probity of the Pagans was: for I do not know whether all antiquity can inſtance

inſtance one man of a more humane, reaſonable, wiſe, and virtuous character than Quintilian, according to the rules of Paganiſm. His books abound with excellent maxims upon the education of children, upon the care which parents ought to take to preſerve them from the dangers and corruption of the world, upon the attention maſters ought to have that the precious depoſit of innocence remain unblemiſhed in them, upon the generous diſintereſtedneſs incumbent upon perſons in power, and, laſtly, upon the zeal and love for juſtice and the public good.

His grief had been very juſt, if attended with moderation: for never did a child deſerve more to be regretted than this. Beſides the graces of nature and exterior attributes, a charming tone of voice, an amiable phyſiognomy, with a ſurpriſing facility in pronouncing the Greek and Roman languages, as if he had been born to excel equally in them both, he had the moſt happy diſpoſition that could be deſired for the ſciences, united with a taſte and inclination for ſtudy that aſtoniſhed his teachers. But the qualities of his heart were ſtill more extraordinary than thoſe of his head. Quintilian, who had known abundance of youth, declares with an oath, that he had never ſeen ſo much probity of inclination, goodneſs of ſoul, ſweetneſs of temper, and elegance of mind, as in this dear child. In an illneſs of eight months continuance, he ſhewed an evenneſs and conſtancy of mind, that his phyſicians could never ſufficiently admire, oppoſing fears and pains with ſurpriſing fortitude, and, upon the point of expiring, conſoling his father, and endeavouring to prevent his tears. What a misfortune was it that ſo many fine qualities were loſt! But what a ſhame and reproach were it for Chriſtian children to be leſs virtuous!

After

After having abandoned his ſtudies for ſome time, Quintilian, having recovered himſelf a little, returned his work; for which, he ſays, the public ought to have the more favourable opinion of him, as from thenceforth he laboured no longer for himſelf, his writings, as well as fortune, being to paſs away to ſtrangers. He at length finiſhed his plan in twelve books. It coſt him little more than two years: of which beſides he had employed a great part, not in actually compoſing, but in preparing, and collecting all the matter of which it was to conſiſt, by the peruſal of abundance of authors, who had treated on the ſame ſubject. And we have ſeen how many afflictions and melancholy affairs he had upon his hands, during that time. It is aſtoniſhing, and almoſt incredible, how ſo perfect a work could be compoſed in ſo ſhort a ſpace. His * deſign was to follow the advice of Horace, who, in his art of poetry, recommends to authors the not being in too much haſte to publiſh their writings. Accordingly he kept his by him, in order to reviſe them at his leiſure with cooler thought, to give time to the firſt emotions of ſelf-love and the complacency people always have for their own productions to cool; and to examine them no longer with the fond prepoſſeſſion of an author, but with the temper and impartiality of a reader. He could not long reſiſt the eager deſire of the public to have his works, and was in a manner reduced to abandon them to it, contenting himſelf with wiſhing them ſucceſs, and recommending to his bookſeller to take great care that they were exact and correct. It muſt have been at leaſt a year before they could be in a condition to appear. We are obliged to

An. J. C. 93. Epiſt. ad Tryph. bibliop.

* Uſus deinde Horatii conſilio, qui in arte poëtica ſuadet, ne præcipitetur editio, *nonúmque prematur in annum*; dabam iis otium, ut, refrigerato inventionis amore, diligentiùs repetitos tanquam lector perpenderem.

the

the Abbé Gedoyn for having inabled the public to judge of the merit of this author, by the tranſlation he has publiſhed of his works.

Mr Dodwell believes, it was about this time that Quintilian, being no longer employed in compoſing his great work, which he had lately finiſhed, thought of a ſecond* marriage, and accordingly eſpouſed the grand-daughter of Tutilius, as Pliny the younger calls him. He had a daughter by her about the end of this year. An. J. C. 94.

Domitian, notwithſtanding his pretended divinity, was killed in his palace by Stephanus, who had put himſelf at the head of the conſpirators. That emperor had cauſed Flavius Clemens, then conſul, to be put to death, and had baniſhed his niece Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Clemens. He had alſo baniſhed St. Flavia Domitilla, the daughter of one of the ſame conſul's ſiſters. All theſe perſons ſuffered for the faith in Jeſus Chriſt. The death of Clemens haſtened that of Domitian, either through the horror and fear it gave every body, or becauſe it animated Stephanus againſt him, who was the freedman and ſteward of Domitilla, the wife of Clemens, of whoſe eſtate he was obliged to give an account, and was accuſed of malverſation in that reſpect. An. J. C. 96.

Nerva ſucceeded Domitian, and reigned only ſixteen months and ſome days. Trajan, whom he had adopted, was his ſucceſſor, and reigned twenty years. An. J. C. 98.

Nothing is known of Quintilian from the death of Domitian, except the marriage of his daughter, admitting he had one. When ſhe was of age to marry, he gave her to Nonius Celer. Pliny ſignaliſed himſelf, on this occaſion, by a generoſity and gratitude, which, in my opinion, do him more honour than his writings, excellent as they are. He had ſtudied eloquence under Quintilian. The

This ſecond marriage is not certain, but ſeems very probable.

works

works he has left us ſufficiently prove, that he was a diſciple worthy of ſo great a maſter: but the following fact no leſs denotes the goodneſs of his heart, and the remembrance he conſtantly retained of the ſervices he had received from him. As ſoon as he knew that Quintilian intended to marry his daughter, he thought it incumbent on him to expreſs his gratitude to his maſter by a ſmall preſent. The difficulty was to make him accept it. He wrote him a letter upon that head, that can never be ſufficiently admired for its art and delicacy, of which I ſhall inſert a tranſlation in this place.

Pliny's letter to Quintilian.

" * Though the moderation of your mind is " very great, and you have educated your daughter " as becomes Quintilian's daughter, and the grand- " daughter of Tutilius: however, as ſhe is about " to marry Nonius Celer, a perſon of diſtinction, " whoſe employments in the ſtate impoſe a kind " of neceſſity upon him of appearing with ſplen- " dor, it is proper, that ſhe ſhould adapt her " dreſs and equipage to the rank of her huſband. " Theſe exterior things indeed add nothing to our " dignity, they however expreſs and adorn it. I " know how very rich you are in the goods of the " mind, and that you are much leſs ſo in thoſe of " fortune than you ought to be. Let me claim

* Quamvis & ipſe ſis continentiſſimus, & filiam tuam ita inſtituëris, ut decebat filiam tuam, Tutilii neptem: cum tamen ſit nuptura honeſtiſſimo viro Nonio Celeri, cui ratio civilium officiorum neceſſitatem quandam nitoris imponit; debet, ſecundum conditiones mariti, veſte, comitatu augeri: quibus non quidem augetur dignitas, ornatur tamen & inſtruitur. Te porro animo beatiſſimum, modicum facultatibus ſcio. Itaque partem oneris tui mihi vendico, &, tanquam parens alter puellæ noſtræ, confero quinquaginta millia nummûm: plus collaturus, niſi à verecundia tua ſola mediocritate munuſculi impetrari poſſe conſiderem, ne recuſares. Vale. *Ep.* 32. l. 6.

" therefore

" therefore a part in your obligations, and, as an-
" other father, give our dear daughter fifty thou- *About*
" ſand ſeſtertia, (12,500 livres) to which I ſhould 600 l.
" add, if I was not aſſured, that the mediocrity of *ſterling.*
" the preſent is the ſole means to prevail upon
" your modeſty to accept it." *Adieu.*

This letter of Pliny's has one circumſtance in it very much for Quintilian's honour: that after having publicly employed twenty years with ſurpriſing reputation and ſucceſs, as well in inſtructing youth as pleading at the bar; after having long reſided in the court with young princes, the education of whom ought to have given him, and undoubtedly did give him, great credit with the emperor; he had made no great fortune, and had always remained in a laudable mediocrity. A fine example, but unhappily very ſeldom imitated!

Juvenal however intimates that Quintilian was very rich, and that he had a conſiderable number of foreſts, from whence, no doubt, aroſe a very great revenue: Sat. 7. l. 3.

Unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet ſaltus?

Theſe riches muſt neceſſarily have been of later date than the time when Pliny made Quintilian the preſent we have mentioned. It is believed, that, if real, they were the effect of the liberality of Adrian, when he attained the empire, for he declared himſelf the protector of the learned. Quintilian was Ar. J. C. then ſeventy-ſix years old. It is not known whether 118. he lived long after, and hiſtory tells us nothing of his death.

II. *The*

II. *The plan and character of Quintilian's rhetoric.*

The rhetoric of Quintilian, intitled *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ*, is the moſt complete antiquity has left us. His deſign in it is to form the perfect orator. He begins with him in his cradle and from his birth, and goes on with him through all the ſtages of life to the grave. This rhetoric conſiſts of twelve books. In the firſt he treats of the manner in which children ſhould be educated from their earlieſt infancy; from whence he proceeds to grammar. The ſecond lays down rules to be obſerved in the ſchools of rhetoric, and ſolves ſeveral queſtions in regard to the art itſelf, as whether it be a ſcience, whether uſeful, &c. The five following books contain the rules of invention and diſpoſition. The eighth, ninth, and tenth books include all that relates to elocution. The eleventh, after a fine chapter upon the manner of ſpeaking with propriety as an orator, *de aptè dicendo*, treats of memory and pronunciation. In the twelfth, which is perhaps the fineſt of them all, Quintilian lays down the perſonal qualities and obligations of an advocate, as ſuch, and with regard to his clients; when he ought to quit his profeſſion; and how employ his retirement.

One of the peculiar characters of Quintilian's rhetoric is, its being written with all the art, elegance, and energy of ſtile it is poſſible to imagine. He * knew, that precepts, when treated in a naked, ſimple, and ſubtile manner, are only proper to dry up the ſources of the mind, and, if I may uſe the expreſſion, to make a diſcourſe lean and languid, by

* Plerumque nudæ illæ artes, nimia ſubtilitatis affectatione, frangunt atque concidunt quicquid eſt in oratione generoſius, & omnem ſuccum ingenii bibunt, & oſſa detegunt: quæ, ut eſſe & aſtringi nervis ſuis debent, ſic corpore operienda ſunt. *Quintil. in Proœm.* l. 1.

depriving

depriving it of all grace and beauty, and leaving it nothing but nerves and bones, more like a ſkeleton than a healthy and natural body. * He therefore endeavoured to introduce into his Inſtitutions all the ornament and elegance of which ſuch a work was ſuſceptible; not, as he ſays himſelf, with the view of diſplaying his wit, (for he could have choſen a far more fruitful ſubject for that purpoſe) but that youth, from the attraction of pleaſure, might apply themſelves with more ardour to the reading and ſtudying of his precepts, which without grace and ornament, could not fail, in offending the delicacy of their ears, to diſguſt alſo their minds. Accordingly we find in his writings a richneſs of thoughts, expreſſions, images, and eſpecially compariſons, which a lively imagination, adorned with a profound knowledge of nature, continually ſupplies, without ever exhauſting itſelf, or falling into diſagreeable repetitions: compariſons, which throw ſuch a fulneſs of light and beauty into precepts, often obſcure and diſguſting in themſelves, as give them a quite different ſpirit and effect.

The † principal end of Quintilian, in his rhetoric, was to oppoſe the bad taſte of eloquence that prevailed in his time, and revive a manner of thinking and judging more ſound and ſevere, and more conformable to the rules of the elegance of nature. Seneca had contributed more than any other author to vitiate and corrupt the judgment

* In cæteris admiſcere tentavimus aliquid nitoris, non jactandi ingenii gratia (namque in id eligi materia poterat uberior) ſed ut hoc ipſo alliceremus magis juventutem ad cognitionem eorum quæ neceſſaria ſtudiis arbitrabamur, ſi, ducti jucunditate aliqua lectionis, libentiùs diſcerent ea, quorum ne jejuna atque arida traditio averteret animos, & aures (præſertim tam delicatas) raderet, verebamur. *Quintil.* l. 3. c. 1.

† Quod accidit mihi, dum corruptum & omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad ſeveriora judicia contendo. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

of the Roman youth, and to ſubſtitute, in the place of that manly and ſolid eloquence which had prevailed till his time, the prettineſſes, if I may be allowed to call them ſo, of a ſtile ſurfeited with ornaments, glittering thoughts, quaint conceits, antitheſes, and points. He perceived aright, that his * works would never pleaſe thoſe who admired the antients: for which reaſon he never ceaſed to ſpeak ill of, and diſcredit, them, even the authors who were moſt eſteemed, as Cicero and Virgil. In conſequence of this conduct enſued an almoſt univerſal contempt for them; ſo that, when Quintilian began to teach, he found no author but Seneca in the hands of youth. He did not endeavour abſolutely to exclude him, but could not ſuffer his being preferred to writers of incomparably greater merit.

For the reſt we ought not to be ſurpriſed that this bad taſte made ſo rapid a progreſs in ſo ſhort a time: which is indeed no more than what uſually happens. There wants but a ſingle perſon of a certain character to vitiate all the reſt, and to corrupt the language of a whole nation. Such was Seneca. I omit ſpeaking in this place of the other qualities, for which he was admired: an happy and univerſal genius; a vaſt extent of knowledge; a profound erudition in philoſophy; and a morality abounding with the juſteſt and moſt ſolid principles. To keep within the bounds of my ſubject, he had an eaſy and exuberant wit, a fine and rich imagination, a ſhining facility in his compoſitions, ſolid thoughts, expreſſions curious and full of energy, with happy and ſprightly turns and conceits.

Quintil. ibid.

* Tum autem ſolus hic ferè in manibus adoleſcentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, ſed potioribus præferri non ſinebam, quos ille non deſiterat inceſſere, cum diverſi ſibi conſcius generis, placere ſe in dicendo poſſe iis, quibus illi placerent, diffideret. *Ibid.*

But,

But, as to his * ſtile, it was almoſt vicious in all its parts, and ſo much the more dangerous, as it was all over luxuriant with charming faults and beautiful defects.

This florid ſtile, this taſte for point and quaintneſs, the more dangerous as the more eaſy and affecting, and therefore the more conformable to the character of youth, ſoon ſeized the whole city. It became † neceſſary that every proof and every period ſhould conclude with ſome glittering thought, or ſingular and ſurpriſing turn, to ſtrike the ear, attract particular attention, and in ſome meaſure claim applauſe.

Quintilian believed himſelf obliged to attack this bad taſte with the utmoſt vigour; which he does almoſt throughout his whole work, by laying down upon the model of the antients, the principles of true and ſolid eloquence. It is not, as he often declares, and as his ſtile ſufficiently ſhews, becauſe he was an enemy to the beauties and graces of diſcourſe. ‡ He confeſſes, that Cicero himſelf, to defend his clients, employed not only ſtrong but ſhining arms; and that in the cauſe of Cornelius Balbus, in which he was often interrupted by the applauſes, and univerſal clapping of hands of his auditors, ſublimity, pomp, and glitter of eloquence occa-

* Sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosiſſima, quod abundant dulcibus vitiis. Velles eum ſuo ingenio dixiſſe, alieno judicio.

† Nunc illud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis ſenſus in fine ſermonis feriat aurem. Turpe autem ac prope nefas ducunt reſpirare ullo loco qui acclamationem non petierit. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 5.

‡ Nec fortibus modo ſed etiam fulgentibus armis præliatus in cauſa eſt Cicero Cornelii: qui non affecutus eſſet docendo Judicem tantum, & utiliter demum ac latinè perſpicuéque dicendo, ut populus Romanus admirationem ſuam, non acclamatione tantum, ſed etiam plauſu confiteretur. Sublimitas profectò, & magnificentia, & nitor, & auctoritas expreſſit illum fragorem——Sed ne cauſæ quidem parum confert hic orationis ornatus. Nam qui libenter audiunt, & magis attendunt, & faciliùs credunt, plerumque ipſa delectatione capiuntur, nonnunquam ipſa admiratione auferuntur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.

ſioned thoſe loud acclamations. He adds to this motive a very true and judicious reflection, which ſeems to regard only the orator's reputation: that is, that the beauty of ſpeech conduces very much to the ſucceſs of a cauſe, becauſe thoſe who hear with pleaſure are more attentive, and become more inclined to believe what they hear, won over as they are by the charms of diſcourſe, and ſometimes in a manner borne away by the general admiration.

Quintilian therefore does not reject ornaments: but he inſiſts that * eloquence, which is an enemy to paint, and all borrowed graces, admits no dreſs, but what is manly, noble, and majeſtic. He conſents, that it ſhould ſhine and be lovely, but from health, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, and that it ſhould owe its beauty ſolely to its natural vigour and florid complexion. He carries this principle ſo far as to ſay, † that, were he to chuſe, he ſhould prefer the rough, groſs force of the antients to the ſtudied and effeminate affectation of the moderns. But, ſays he, there is in this point a certain mean that may be obſerved, in like manner as there is a neatneſs and elegance at preſent in our tables and furniture, which is ſo far from being reproveable, that we ought, to the utmoſt of our power, to make it become a virtue in the general acceptation.

We find, by the little I have related of Quintilian, how greatly uſeful the ſtudy of ſuch a work may be to form the judgment of youth. It is no leſs ſo in reſpect to the manners. He has ſcattered admirable maxims of that nature throughout his

* Sed hic ornatus, (repetam enim) virilis, fortis, & ſanctus ſit: nec effeminatam levitatem, nec fuco eminentem colorem amet: ſanguine & viribus niteat. *Quintil.* ibid.

† Et, ſi neceſſe ſit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim, quam iſtam novam licentiam. Sed patet media quædam via: ſicut in cultu victuque acceſſit aliquis citra reprehenſionem nitor, quem, ſicut poſſumus, adjiciamus virtutibus. *Ibid.* c. 5.

rhetoric.

rhetoric. I have quoted part of them in my treatiſe upon ſtudy.

But this fund of probity, ſo worthy in itſelf of our higheſt praiſes, is much diſhonoured by our rhetorician's impious flatteries in regard to Domitian, and by his deſpair on the death of his children, that roſe ſo high as to deny providence. This example, and many others of the like nature, inſtruct us how to think of theſe Pagan virtues which were ſolely founded in ſelf-love, and of a religion that afforded no reſource againſt the loſſes and evils to which human life is continually expoſed.

III. *Method of inſtructing youth in Quintilian's time.*

Before I conclude this article upon Quintilian, I ſhall extract from his writings part of what relates to the manner of teaching, as uſed at Rome, in his time.

It appears to have been a very uſual cuſtom, at Rome, not to begin the inſtruction of children till they were ſeven years old, becauſe it was believed, that before that age they had neither ſufficient ſtrength of body nor extent of mind for learning. Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.

Quintilian thinks otherwiſe, and prefers the opinion of Chryſippus, who had compoſed a treatiſe of conſiderable extent, and in great eſteem, upon the education of children. Though that philoſopher allowed three years to the nurſes, he was from that age for having them induſtriouſly imbued with good principles of morality, and formed inſenſibly for virtue. Now, ſays Quintilian, if from that early ſtate their manners may be cultivated, what hinders but their minds may alſo be improved? What is a child to do from the time he begins to ſpeak? For undoubtedly he muſt do ſomething. Is it proper to abandon him entirely to the diſcourſes of women and men ſervants? At that age

we know he is incapable either of pains or application. Therefore this muſt not be ſo much a ſtudy as a play, whereby theſe firſt years of infancy, till the ſeventh, which are generally loſt, may be uſefully applied in teaching him a thouſand agreeable things within the reach of his capacity.

Quintil. l. 1. c. 1. They began with the ſtudy of the Greek language: but that of the Latin ſoon followed; from which time they cultivated both languages with equal application. This is not practiſed with ſufficient regularity amongſt the French, *or indeed the Engliſh*, who ſeldom or never know their native tongue by principles.

When children had learnt to read well, and to write correctly, they were taught both the Latin and Greek grammars.

They had for this end, private maſters who inſtructed them at home, and others who taught in the public ſchools. Quintilian examines which of theſe two methods of teaching is the moſt uſeful; and, after having attentively conſidered the reaſons on both ſides, he declares for the public ſchools. The chapter wherein he treats this queſtion, is one of the fineſt parts of this work.

Ibid.

L. 1. c. 4. Grammar was not conſidered in thoſe times as a frivolous employment of little importance. The Romans ſet an higher value upon it, and applied themſelves to it in a particular manner; convinced, that to propoſe making a progreſs in the ſciences, without the aſſiſtance of grammar, is like intending to erect a building without a foundation. They did not dwell upon minute things and ſubtleties, which ſerve only to cramp the genius, and make the mind dry and frigid; they ſtudied its principles, and examined its reaſons with care; for there is nothing hurtful in grammar, but what is uſeleſs.

Grammar,

Grammar, that is to ſay, the art of writing and ſpeaking correctly, turns upon four principles, reaſon, antiquity, authority, and uſe. Quintilian ſays an admirable thing upon this laſt head. This word * *uſe*, according to him, requires an explanation, and it is neceſſary to define preciſely what we underſtand by it. For, if we take it, for what we ſee done by the generality of people, the conſequences would be dangerous, not only in regard to language, but, what is more important, in reſpect to manners. For, ſays he, can it be expected amongſt men to ſee the generality follow or uſe what is beſt, and according to rule? He repeats ſeveral cuſtoms very common in his time, which ought not to be conſidered as uſes, but as abuſes, though generally practiſed by the whole city. We ſhall call uſe therefore, as it relates to language, that which is received by the conſent of ſuch as ſpeak beſt; as, in regard to manners, that is uſe which has the approbation of the good and worthy. Quintil. l. 1. c. 4.

The care of teaching children to read and write correctly, and of learning them the principles of the Greek and Latin tongues, was the firſt but not the chief duty of grammarians. They added to this the reading and explication of the poets, which was of exceeding great extent, and required profound erudition. They did not content themſelves with making children obſerve the propriety and l. 1. c. 5.

* Sed huic ipſi neceſſarium eſt judicium, conſtituendumque imprimis id ipſum quid ſit, quod conſuetudinem vocemus. Quæ, ſi ex eo quod plures faciunt nomen accipiat, periculoſiſſimum dabit præceptum, non orationi modo, ſed (quod majus eſt) vitæ. Unde enim tantum boni, ut pluribus quæ recta ſunt placeant? Igitur ut velli, & comam in gradus frangere, & in balneis perpotare, quamlibet hæc invaſerint civitatem, non erit conſuetudo, quia nihil horum caret reprehenſione——ſic, in loquendo, non, ſi quid vitioſè multis inſederit, pro regula ſermonis accipiendum erit——Ergo conſuetudinem ſermonis vocabo conſenſum eruditorum; ſicut vivendi, conſenſum bonorum. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

natural ſignification of words; the different feet in the conſtruction of verſes; the turns and expreſſions peculiar to poetry, with the tropes and figures. They applied themſelves principally in ſhewing* what it was neceſſary to remark in the œconomy or conduct of a piece, and the conſiſtency of its parts and characters; what was fine in the thoughts and diction; and wherefore the ſtile was ſometimes flowing and luxuriant, and ſometimes ſuccinct and conciſe. They made children alſo perfectly acquainted with whatever had any relation, in the poets, either to fable or hiſtory, without however charging their memories with any thing uſeleſs. At leaſt, theſe are the rules preſcribed by Quintilian. He reckons it a † perfection, in a grammarian to be ignorant of certain things, which indeed do not deſerve to be known.

Lib. 1. c. 6. The grammarians began alſo to form youth for compoſition, by making them write deſcriptions, L. 2. c. 1. fables, and more extenſive narrations. They ſometimes made excurſions, of which Quintilian complains, into the province of the rhetoric, and made their diſciples compoſe diſcourſes, not only in the demonſtrative kind, which ſeemed abandoned to them, but even in the deliberative.

L. 1. c. 7. &c. At the ſame time that youth learned grammar, they were alſo taught muſic, geometry, the manner of dancing that improves the perſon and mien, and the art of pronunciation, or of ſpeaking in public; all which were conſidered as eſſential to the future orator, and always preceded the ſtudy of rhetoric.

The age for entering upon this ſtudy was not and could not be fixed, becauſe it depended on the

* Præcipuè vero illa infigat animis, quæ in œconomia virtus, quæ in decoro rerum; quid perſonæ cuique convenerit; quid in ſenſibus laudandum; quid in verbis; ubi copia probabilis, ubi modus.

† Ex quo mihi inter virtutes Grammatici habebitur aliqua neſcire.

progreſs

progreſs made in the previous ſtudies. What we certainly know of it is, that young perſons devoted ſeveral years to it: *Adulti ferè pueri ad hos præceptores transferuntur, & apud eos juvenes etiam fabli perſeverant.* L. 2. c. 2. We may conjecture, that they generally began rhetoric at thirteen or fourteen years of age, and continued at it till ſeventeen or eighteen. The length of time employed in this ſtudy ought not to ſurpriſe us, becauſe, at Rome as well as Athens, eloquence opening the door to the higheſt dignities of the republic, this art was the principal employment of the youth of both cities. We muſt not forget, that at Rome they ſtudied rhetoric under both Greek and Latin maſters.

The function of a rhetorician included two parts, precepts and declamations.

Quintilian, in ſeveral paſſages of his work, proves the utility and neceſſity of precepts: but he is far from believing, that a ſcrupulous obſervance of them is indiſpenſably neceſſary in compoſing. Rhetoric would certainly be very eaſy and attainable, if it could be made to conſiſt in a ſmall number of fixed and certain rules; but its rules change according to time, occaſion, and neceſſity. For which reaſon * the principal requiſite in an orator is judgment, becauſe he is to determine differently his own conduct, according to the exigency of affairs.

The rhetorician dictated the precepts to his diſciples, which muſt have taken up abundance of time: for the rhetorics were generally very long, as we may conclude from that of Quintilian. It often treated ſubjects of a very abſtracted, and very improper nature, in my opinion, to inſpire a taſte for eloquence. Theſe are that kind of paſſages, which, in regard to youth, I have taken the liberty to retrench in my edition of this rhetorician. He

* Atque adeo res in oratore præcipua conſilium, quia variè & ad rerum momenta convertitur. *Lib.* 2. c. 14.

found

found this cuſtom eſtabliſhed, and could not with prudence depart from it. But he makes his readers good amends, not only by the graces and beauties of ſtile diffuſed through all the paſſages ſuſceptible of them, but ſtill more by the ſolid reflections, with which he unites moſt of his precepts. And, when he explained them to his diſciples, what force and clearneſs muſt his pronunciation have added to them!

Lib. 2. c. 4. To teach youth how to practiſe the precepts he had explained to them, the maſter formed them for compoſition. At firſt they made hiſtorical narrations. They then roſe to praiſing of great men, and blaming ſuch as had rendered themſelves odious by their criminal actions; and ſometimes made parallels and compariſons between them. They exerciſed themſelves alſo in common places, upon avarice, ingratitude, and the other vices in general: and in certain themes which ſupplied abundant matter for eloquence; for inſtance, whether the country life is preferable to that of the town? whether moſt glory be acquired in the field or at the bar?

Lib. 2. c. 8. Care was alſo taken to exerciſe the memory. Quintilian for this end is for having youth learn by heart ſelect paſſages out of the orators, hiſtorians, and other celebrated authors: the poets were left wholly to the grammarians. * They will form their taſte early by this means, ſays he; their memory will conſtantly ſupply them with excellent models, which they will imitate even without thinking of it: expreſſions, tours of thoughts and figures will riſe up with no conſtraint under their pens, and preſent themſelves as treaſures carefully reſerved againſt occaſion.

* Sic aſſueſcent optimis, ſemperque habebunt intra ſe quod imitentur: etiam non ſentientes, formam illam, quam mente penitus acceperint, expriment. Abundabunt autem copiâ verborum optimorum, & compoſitione ac figuris jam non quæſitis, ſed ſponte & ex repoſito velut theſauro ſe offerentibus.

By.

By theſe different exerciſes, they were inſenſibly led on to the compoſition of diſcourſes in form, called declamations, in which the principal buſineſs of rhetoric conſiſted. Theſe were harangues compoſed upon feigned and imaginary ſubjects, in imitation of thoſe at the bar, and in the public deliberations. Demetrius Phalereus was the firſt who introduced the uſe of them amongſt the Greeks. Lib. 2. c. 4.

Declamations were inſtituted to prepare youth for the real affairs of the bar, of which they were properly to be a faithful reſemblance: and as long as they kept within theſe juſt bounds, and, perfectly imitated the form and ſtile of actual pleadings, they were of great uſe. Accordingly this ſort of compoſitions compriſed all the parts and beauties of a coherent diſcourſe.

But this exerciſe, ſo uſeful in itſelf, degenerated ſo much through the ignorance and bad taſte of maſters, that declamations were one of the principal cauſes of the ruin of eloquence. They made choice of fabulous ſubjects, entirely extraordinary and unnatural, which had no manner of relation to the matters treated on at the bar. I ſhall cite a ſingle example of this kind, from which the reſt may be known. There was a law which decreed, that the hands of him who ſtruck or uſed violence to his father ſhould be cut off: *Qui patrem pulſaverit, manus ei præcidantur.* A tyrant having cauſed a father and his two ſons to be brought to him in the citadel, ordered the ſons to beat the father. One of them, to avoid ſo horrid an impiety, threw himſelf headlong from the works of the citadel: the other, compelled by neceſſity, obeyed the command, and ſtruck his father; he afterwards killed the tyrant, who had made him his friend, and received the reward granted him by the laws in ſuch a caſe. He was however tried by the judges for having uſed violence to his father, and the proſecutor demanded that his hands ſhould be cut off. Senec. Declam. 4. l. 9.

The

The father takes upon him his defence. Matters of a much more extravagant nature were treated on in declamations. The * ſtile was ſuitable to the choice of the ſubjects, and conſiſted of nothing but ſtiff, far-fetched expreſſions, glittering conceits, points, antitheſes, quibbles and jingle, exceſſive figures, frothy bombaſt, in a word, of all manner of puerile ornaments, crowded together without judgment or choice.

Quintilian oppoſed this bad taſte with the utmoſt zeal, and applied himſelf to reforming declamations, by reducing them to their original deſign, and making them conformable to the practice of the bar. Believing it improper, however, to oppoſe the torrent of cuſtom in a direct manner, he abated of his ardour in ſome reſpects, and gave way to the ſtream in a certain degree. It will not be diſagreeable to ſee in what manner he juſtifies this condeſcenſion himſelf.

" † What then, ſome may ſay, are youth never " to be ſuffered to treat on extraordinary ſub- " jects? To give a looſe to their genius, to aban- " don themſelves to the ſallies of a warm imagina- " tion, and ſwell a little in their ſtile and eloquence?

* Hæc tolerabilia eſſent, ſi ad eloquentiam ituris viam facerent: nunc & rerum tumore, & ſententiarum vaniſſimo ſtrepitu, hoc tantum proficiunt, ut, cum in forum venerint, putent ſe in alium terrarum orbem delatos. Et ideo ego adoleſcentulos exiſtimo in ſcholis ſtultiſſimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis, quæ in uſu habemus, aut audiunt, aut vident——ſed mellitos verborum globulos, & omnia dicta factaque quaſi papavere & ſeſamo ſparſa. *Petron. in init.*

† Quid ergo? Nunquam hæc ſupra fidem, & poëtica (ut verè dicam) themata juvenibus pertractare permittemus, ut expatientur, & gaudeant materia, & quaſi in corpus eant? Erat optimum. Sed certè ſint grandia & tumida, non ſtulta etiam, & acrioribus oculis intuenti ridicula. Ac, ſi jam cedendum eſt, impleat ſe declamator aliquando, dum ſciat, ut quadrupedes, cum viridi pabulo diſtentæ ſunt, ſanguinis detractione curantur, & ſic ad cibos viribus conſervandis idoneos redeunt: ita ſibi quoque tenuandos adipes, & quicquid humoris corrupti contraxerit emittendum, ſi eſſe ſanus ac robuſtus ole-. Alioqui, tumor ille inanis primo cujuſque veri operis conatu deprehendetur. *Lib. 2. c. 11.*

" That

" That is undoubtedly right, ſays Quintilian. But " then let them keep at leaſt to what is juſtly bold " and ſwelling, and not give into what is ridicu- " lous and extravagant to all who have any ſenſe " or diſcernment. In fine, if we muſt have this " indulgence for declaimers, let them ſwell as much " as they pleaſe, provided they remember, that as " certain animals are turned looſe into the fields to " fatten upon the luxuriant herbage for a certain " time, and afterwards are let blood, and return " to their uſual meat for the preſervation of their " vigour; ſo they ought to diſtruſt their fulneſs, " and retrench its vicious ſuperfluities, if they " would have their productions really ſound and " vigorous. Otherwiſe, on their firſt attempts in " public, they will find that imaginary fulneſs " and abundance no more than empty ſwell and " tumour."

With ſuch wiſe precautions, declamations might be of great uſe to young perſons. * Perfect diſcourſes are not to be required or expected from them at firſt. A fruitful and abundant genius may be known from a boldneſs and ſpirit in attempting, though not always within the bounds of the juſt and the true. It is good to have always ſomething to retrench at theſe years. When a young perſon had worked in private upon a ſubject given him to treat on, he brought his compoſition to the ſchool, and read it before his companions. The maſter ſometimes, to render them more attentive, and to form their judgment, aſked them what they thought worthy of either praiſe or blame in the piece read to them. He afterwards determined the manner in which they were to judge of it, as well in

* In pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi, nec ſperari poteſt: melior autem eſt indoles læta, generoſique conatus, & vel plura juſto concipiens interim ſpiritus. Nec unquam me in his diſcentis annis offendat, ſi quid ſuperfuerit. *L.* 2. *c.* 4.

regard

regard to the thoughts, as the expreſſion and tour: he pointed out the paſſages that were either to be made more clear, or to be enlarged or abridged; always ſoftening his criticiſm with an air of kindneſs, and ſometimes even with praiſe, in order to its being the better received. "For my part, ſays * Quin-"tilian, when I obſerved young perſons either too "wanton and luxuriant in their ſtile, or more bold "than ſolid in their thoughts; I told them, for "the preſent I would ſuffer it, but the time would "come when I ſhould not permit the taking of "ſuch liberties. And thus they were pleaſed with "their wit, without being deceived on the ſide of "their judgment."

When the youth, upon the advice of his maſter, had carefully retouched his piece, he prepared to pronounce it in public; and this was one of the greateſt advantages derived from the ſtudy of rhetoric, and at the ſame time one of the moſt laborious exerciſes for the maſter, as the ſatyriſt obſerves:

Declamare doces, oh ferrea pectora, Vecti!
Juv. Sat. 7.

With iron lungs who teaches to declaim.

The relations and friends of the ſpeakers aſſembled on theſe occaſions, and it was the height of joy to fathers to ſee their ſons ſucceed in theſe declamations, which prepared them for pleading, and inabled them to diſtinguiſh themſelves in time at the bar.

Amongſt the different exerciſes of rhetoric, there is reaſon to be ſurpriſed, that nothing is ſaid of the

* Solebam ego dicere pueris aliquid auſis licentius aut lætius, laudare illud me adhuc; venturum tempus, quo idem non permitterem. Ita, & ingenio gaudebant, & judicio non fallebantur. *Ibid.*

reading

reading and explaining good authors, which alone is capable of forming entirely the taſte of youth, and of teaching them to compoſe well. Quintilian confeſſes, that this was not practiſed at the time he began to teach rhetoric. He was ſenſible of all its advantages from the firſt, and exerciſed ſome young perſons in it, whom he inſtructed in private, in conſequence of their parents requeſt: but, having found the contrary cuſtom eſtabliſhed in the ſchools, he was afraid to depart from the antient method; ſo much force and dominion has cuſtom over the mind of man! Convinced of the vaſt importance of this practice with regard to youth, he recommends it induſtriouſly in his oratorical inſtitutions: and, as the grammarian's buſineſs was to explain the poets to them, he is for having the rhetorician do the ſame in reſpect to the orators and hiſtorians, but eſpecially the former, in reading them with the pupils, and making them ſenſible of all their beauties; and he prefers this exerciſe far before * all the precepts of rhetoric, how excellent ſoever they may be; examples being infinitely more improving in his opinion. For, ſays he, what the rhetorician contents himſelf with teaching, the orator ſets before the eyes. The one points out the road youth are to take, the other in a manner leads them by the hand all the way: *Quæ doctor præcipit, orator oſtendit.* L. 2. c. 5. L. 10. c. 1.

I have perhaps enlarged a little too much upon what relates to this excellent maſter of rhetoric, from whom I have cited many paſſages, for which I ought to make ſome excuſe to the reader. I deſire him therefore to pardon my too manifeſt prejudice and paſſion for Quintilian, who is my favourite author, and whoſe writings have been the

* Hoc diligentiæ genus auſim dicere plus collaturum diſcentibus, quam omnes omnium artes.——Nam in omnibus ferè minus valent præcepta, quàm exempla. *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 5.

ſubjects

ſubjects of my leſſons in the royal college more than forty years. I confeſs, that I am charmed and tranſported whenever I read his books, which always ſeem new to me; and I ſet the higher value upon them, as I know no author more capable of preſerving youth againſt the falſe taſte of eloquence, which ſeems in our days to aſpire at ſuperiority and dominion.

Several Saints have taught rhetoric, and have done abundance of honour to this profeſſion by their profound knowledge, and ſtill more by their ſolid piety: St. Cyprian, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Auguſtin, &c. The laſt mentions a celebrated rhetorician, named Victorinus, to whom a ſtatue was erected at Rome, where the learned inſtruction he had given the children of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators had acquired him great reputation. The affecting hiſtory of his converſion (for he had courageouſly renounced Paganiſm for the Chriſtian religion) contributed very much to that of St. Auguſtin.

Confeſſ. l. 8. c. 2.

CHAPTER IV.

OF SOPHISTS.

IN the ſubject I am now to treat on, I have made great uſe of Mr. Hardion's work upon *the origin and progreſs of rhetoric amongſt the Greeks*, of which only a ſmall part has been publiſhed.

It is hard to give a juſt idea and exact definition of ſophiſts, becauſe their condition and reputation have undergone various changes. It was at firſt a very honourable title. It afterwards became odious and contemptible from the vices of the ſophiſts, and the abuſe they made of their talents. At length the ſame title, in a manner reſtored to its privileges by the merit of thoſe who bore it, continued in honour for a conſiderable ſucceſſion of ages, which did not however prevent many of them, even in thoſe times, from making an ill uſe of it.

The name of Sophiſt amongſt the antients was of very great extent, and was given to all thoſe whoſe minds were adorned with uſeful and polite learning, and who imparted their knowledge to others, either by ſpeech or in writing, upon any ſcience or ſubject whatſoever. Hence we may judge how honourable this character was at firſt, and what reſpect it muſt have drawn upon thoſe who, diſtinguiſhing themſelves by a ſuperior merit, made it their buſineſs to form mankind for virtue, ſcience, and the government of ſtates. The greateſt proof which can be given, ſays Iſocrates, of the ſingular eſtimation the ſophiſts were in, is, that Solon, who was the firſt Athenian called ſophiſt, was judged worthy

Περὶ ἀντιδόσεως, p. 677.

worthy by our anceſtors of being placed at the head of the republic. Herodotus reckons him amongſt the ſophiſts, whom the opulence of Crœſus, and his love for the polite arts, had brought to his court.

L. 1. c. 29.

When, by the defeat of Crœſus, Aſia minor was ſubjected to the arms of the Perſians, moſt of the ſophiſts returned into Greece, and the city of Athens became, under the government of Piſiſtratus and his children, the darling aſylum and reſidence of the learned.

To underſtand aright the advantage they were of to Greece, we have only to remember the important ſervices they rendered Pericles, I mean in regard to policy and government.

All arts, whoſe objects are great and conſiderable, require a genius for diſcuſſion, and a profound knowledge of nature. The mind is thereby accuſtomed to conceive lofty and ſublime thoughts, and inabled to attain its perfection. Pericles united with the moſt happy natural talents this habit of meditating and diſcuſſing. Having fallen into the hands of ANAXAGORAS, who followed this method in every thing, he learned from him to trace things to their principles, and applied himſelf particularly to the ſtudy of nature. Hiſtory tells us the uſe he made of it on the occaſion of an eclipſe of the ſun, which had thrown his whole fleet into a conſternation. Anaxagoras, who abounded in this kind of knowledge, made it the principal ſubject of his converſations with Pericles, who knew how to ſelect from them what was proper, to apply it to rhetoric.

Plato in Phædr. p. 269.

Plut. in Pericl. p. 154.

DAMON, who ſucceeded Anaxagoras with Pericles, called himſelf only a muſician, but concealed profound learning under that name and profeſſion. Pericles paſſed whole days with him, either to improve the knowledge he already had, or to acquire more,

Plut. in Pericl. p. 153, 154. Plut. in Lach. p. 180.

more. Damon was the moſt amiable man in the world, and never wanted abundant reſources upon whatever ſubject he was conſulted. He had ſtudied nature profoundly, and the effects of the different kinds of muſic. He compoſed excellently himſelf, and all his works tended to inſpire horror of vice and love of virtue.

Whatever care this ſophiſt had taken to conceal his real profeſſion, his enemies, or rather thoſe of Pericles, perceived at length that his lyre was only aſſumed to diſguiſe him from their ſight. From thenceforth they uſed all means to diſcredit him with the people. They painted him as an ambitious turbulent perſon, who favoured tyranny. The comic poets ſeconded them to the utmoſt of their power, by the ridicule they vented againſt him. He was at length cited to anſwer for himſelf before the judges, and baniſhed by the oſtraciſm. His merit and attachment to Pericles were his only crimes.

That illuſtrious Athenian had alſo another teacher both in eloquence and policy, whoſe name and profeſſion muſt give ſurpriſe: this was the famous ASPASIA of Miletus. That woman, ſo much celebrated for her beauty, knowledge, and eloquence, was at the ſame time of two very different profeſſions, a courtezan and a ſophiſt. Her houſe was an aſſembly of the graveſt perſonages of Athens. She gave her leſſons of eloquence and policy with ſo much politeneſs and modeſty, that the huſbands were not afraid to carry their wives thither, where they might be preſent without ſhame or danger. Plut. in Pericl. p. 165 & 169. Athen. l. 13. p. 680. Heſych. in voce Θαργηλία. Suid. ibid.

In her conduct and ſtudies ſhe followed the example of another famous courtezan of Miletus, named THARGELIA, whoſe talents had acquired her the title of ſophiſt, and whoſe exceeding beauty had raiſed her to the height of grandeur. When Xerxes meditated the conqueſt of Greece, he engaged

gaged her to employ the charms of her perſon and wit, to bring over ſeveral of the Grecian cities to his ſide, in which ſhe ſucceeded effectually. She at length ſettled in Theſſaly, where the ſovereign married her, and ſhe lived thirty years upon the throne.

Aſpaſia with abundance of wit and beauty united a profound knowledge of rhetoric and policy. Socrates (a man of what wiſdom and reputation!) boaſted, that it was to her inſtructions he was indebted for all his eloquence, and aſcribed to her the merit of having formed all the great orators of his time. He intimates alſo in Plato, that Aſpaſia had the greateſt ſhare in compoſing the funeral oration, pronounced by Pericles in praiſe of the Athenians who fell in battle for their country, which appeared ſo admirable, that, when he had done ſpeaking, the mothers and wives of thoſe he had praiſed ran to embrace and crown him with wreaths and fillets, as a champion victorious in the games.

Plut. in Menex. p. 236—249.

Pericles was in no good underſtanding with his wife, who conſented without any difficulty to be divorced from him. After he had married her to another, he took Aſpaſia in her ſtead, and lived with her in the moſt perfect union. She was a long time the mark of the poets ſatyric wit, who in their comedies drew her ſometimes under the name of Omphale, ſometimes of Dejanira, and ſometimes under that of Juno. It is not certain whether it was before or after her marriage that ſhe was accuſed before the judges for the crime of impiety. It is only ſaid, that Pericles ſaved her with great difficulty, and that he exerted all his credit and eloquence in her defence.

Plut. in Pericl. p. 169.

It is a pity that Aſpaſia, diſhonoured, by the irregularity of her manners, and her profeſſion of a courtezan, the many fine qualities, for which ſhe was

was otherwiſe ſo eſtimable, and which, without that blot, would have made her an infinite honour to her ſex. But they prove, however, of what the ſex is capable, and how high they can carry the talents of the mind, and even the ſcience of government.

Beſides Anaxagoras, Damon, and Aſpaſia, who had principally inſtructed Pericles in eloquence and policy, he had alſo ſeveral other ſophiſts of great reputation in his houſe. This conduct ſhews the value, which the great men of antiquity ſet upon, and the uſe they made of, the ſciences, which they were very far from conſidering as a ſimple amuſement, fit only at moſt to gratify the curioſity of a ſpeculative mind with rare and abſtracted knowledge, but incapable of forming perſons for the government of ſtates.

The extraordinary honours, paid by all Greece to the ſophiſts, proves how highly they were eſteemed and conſidered. When they arrived at a city, they were met by the people in a body, and their entrance into it had ſomething of the air of a triumph. They had their freedom conferred upon them, were granted all ſorts of immunities, and had ſtatues erected to their honour. Rome erected one to the ſophiſt Præreſus, who went thither by the order of the emperor Conſtans. Nothing can be imagined more glorious nor more ſoothing than the inſcription of this ſtatue: REGINA RERUM ROMA REGI ELOQUENTIÆ; that is, *Rome, the queen of the world, to the king of eloquence.* S. Chryſ. in Epiſt. ad Epheſ. Eunapius.

The experience which moſt of the cities had made of the advantage of the ſophiſts to thoſe in the adminiſtration of public affairs, and eſpecially in the inſtruction of youth, occaſioned their being treated with all theſe ſingular marks of eſteem and diſtinction. Beſides which, it cannot be denied, that many of them had abundance of wit, had acquired a great extent of knowledge by application,

and diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a particular manner by their eloquence. The moſt celebrated were Gorgias, Tiſias, Protagoras, and Prodicus, who all appeared in the time of Socrates.

Diod. l. 12. p. 106.

GEORGIAS is ſirnamed *the Leontine*, becauſe he was a native of Leontium, a city of Sicily. His citizens, who were at war with thoſe of Syracuſe, deputed him as the moſt excellent orator amongſt them, to implore aid of the Athenians, whom he charmed by his eloquence, and obtained from them all he demanded. As it was new to them, they were dazzled with the pomp of his words, thoughts, tour of genius, and figures; and with thoſe * artfully laboured, and in a manner wire-drawn periods, the members of which, by a ſtudied diſparity and reſemblance, anſwer each other with a nice exactneſs, and form a regular and harmonious cadence, that agreeably ſoothes the ear. This kind of *Prettineſſes*, for they cannot well be called by any other name, are pardonable when not too frequent, and are even graceful when uſed with the ſober temper Cicero employs them. But Gorgias abandoned himſelf to them without any reſerve. Every thing glittered in his ſtile, in which art ſeemed to pride itſelf in appearing every-where without a veil. He went to diſplay it upon a much larger theatre, that is to ſay, in the Olympic games, and afterwards in the Pythian; where he was equally admired by all Greece. They † loaded him univerſally with honours, which they carried ſo far, as to erect him a ſtatue of gold at Delphos, an honour never before conferred on any man.

* Paria paribus adjuncta, & ſimiliter definita; itemque contrariis relata contraria quæ ſua ſponte, etiamſi id non agas, cadunt plerumque numeroſè, Gorgias primus invenit, ſed his eſt uſus intemperantier. *Orat.* n. 175.

† Gorgiæ tantus honos habitus eſt à tota Græcia, ſoli ut ex omnibus, Delphis, non inaurata ſtatua ſed aurea ſtatueretur. 3. *De orat.* n. 127.

Gorgias

Gorgias was the firſt that ventured to boaſt in a numerous aſſembly, that he was ready to diſpute upon any ſubject that ſhould be propoſed: which became very common afterwards. Craſſus had reaſon to treat ſo ſenſeleſs a vanity, or rather, as he calls it himſelf, ſo ridiculous an impudence, with deriſion. 1. De orat. n. 103.

He lived to an hundred and ſeven years old, without ever quitting his ſtudies; and, upon being aſked how he could ſupport ſo long a life, he replied, that age had never given him any reaſon to complain. De Senect. n. 13.

Iſocrates, of all his diſciples, was the moſt illuſtrious, and did him the greateſt honour.

Tisias was a native of the ſame city as Gorgias, and, according to ſome, was joined with him in the deputation to the Athenians. He alſo acquired great eſtimation. Lyſias, a famous orator of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, was one of his diſciples. Pauſan. l. 6. p. 376.

Protagoras, of Abdera in Thrace, was contemporary with Gorgias, and perhaps even a little prior to him. He was alſo of the ſame taſte, and had, like him, a very great reputation for eloquence. He taught it during forty years, and gained by his profeſſion more conſiderable ſums than Phidias, or ten as excellent ſtatuaries as him, could ever have been able to have acquired. So Socrates ſays in Plato. Plut. in Menon. p. 91.

Aulus Gellius relates a very ſingular law-ſuit between this Protagoras and one of his diſciples. The latter, whoſe name was Evalthus, paſſionately deſirous of making himſelf a celebrated advocate, applies to Protagoras. The price was agreed on; for this kind of maſters always began with that; and the rhetorician engaged to inſtruct Evalthus in the moſt ſecret myſteries of eloquence. The diſciple, on his ſide, pays down directly half the ſum agreed on, and, according to articles, refers the L. 5. c. 10.

payment of the other half, till after the carrying of the firſt cauſe he ſhould plead. Protagoras, without loſs of time, diſplays all his precepts, and, after a great number of leſſons, pretends that he had made his ſcholar capable of ſhining at the bar, and preſſes him to make an eſſay of his ability. Evalthus, whether out of timidity or ſome other reaſon, always defers it, and obſtinately declines exerciſing his new talent. The rhetorician, weary of his continued refuſal, has recourſe to the judges. Then, ſure of the victory, whatever ſentence they might paſs, he inſults the young man. For, ſays he, if the decree be in my favour, it will oblige you to pay me: if againſt me, you carry your firſt cauſe, and are my debtor according to our agreement. He believed the argument unanſwerable. Evalthus was in no concern, and replied immediately, I accept the alternative. If judgment goes for me, you loſe your cauſe: if for you, I am diſcharged by our articles; I loſe my firſt cauſe, and from thenceforth the obligation ceaſes. The judges were poſed by this captious alternative, and left the caſe undecided: in all probability, Protagoras repented his having inſtructed his diſciple ſo well.

Suidas. PRODICUS of the iſle of Cea, one of the Cyclades, the contemporary with Democritus and Gorgias, and diſciple of Protagoras, was one of the moſt celebrated ſophiſts of Greece. He flouriſhed in the 86th olympiad, and amongſt others had Euripides. Socrates, Theramenes, and Iſocrates, for his diſciples.

He did not diſdain to teach in private at Athens, though he was there in the character of ambaſſador from his country, which had already conferred ſeveral other public employments upon him: and though the great approbation, which his harangue had obtained him from the Athenians upon the day of his public audience, ſeemed to oppoſe his deſcending

ſcending to uſe his talent upon leſs occaſions. Plato inſinuates, that the deſire of gain induced Prodicus to keep a ſchool. He accordingly got conſiderably by that buſineſs. He went from city to city to diſplay his eloquence, and, though he did it in a mercenary manner, he, however, received great honour at Thebes, and ſtill greater at Lacedæmon.

His declamation *of fifty drachma's* is very much ſpoken of, which was ſo called, as ſome of the learned tell us, from each auditor's being obliged to pay him that ſum, amounting to about five and twenty livres French. This was paying very dear for hearing an harangue. Others underſtand it of a lecture, and not an harangue. Socrates, in one of Plato's dialogues, complains, with his air of ridicule, of not being able to diſcourſe well upon the nature of nouns, becauſe he had not heard the * leſſon of fifty drachma's, which, according to Prodicus, revealed the whole myſtery. And indeed this ſophiſt had diſcourſes of all prices from two oboli to fifty drachma's. Could any thing be more ſordid?

About twenty-two ſhillings.

In Cratyl. p. 384.

Id. in Axioch. p. 366.

The fable of Prodicus, wherein he ſuppoſes that virtue and pleaſure, in the form of women, preſent themſelves to Hercules, and endeavour, in emulation of each other, to allure him, has been juſtly extolled by many authors. Xenophon has explained it with great extent and beauty; yet he ſays, that it was much longer and more adorned in the piece of Prodicus upon Hercules. Lucian has imitated it ingeniouſly.

L. 2. Memorab. p. 737—740. Cic. offic. l. 1. n. 118.

The Athenians put our ſophiſt to death, as a corrupter of youth. It is probable that he was accuſed of teaching his diſciples irreligion.

Suid.

Theſe ſophiſts did not ſupport their reputation long. I have ſhewn, in the life of Socrates, in what manner that great man, who believed it in-

* Τὴν πεντηκονταδράχμου ἐπίδειξιν.

cumbent

cumbent on him, as a good citizen, to undeceive the public in regard to them, ſucceeded in making them known for what they were, by taking off the maſk from their faults. He interrogated them in public converſations, with an air of ſimplicity and almoſt ignorance, which concealed infinite art, as one who deſired to be inſtructed and improved by their doctrine; and, leading them on from propoſition to propoſition, of which they foreſaw neither the concluſion nor conſequences, he made them fall into abſurdities, which ſhewed in the moſt ſenſible and diſtinct manner the falſity of all their reaſoning.

Two things contributed principally to their loſing almoſt univerſally the opinion of the public. They ſet themſelves up for perfect orators, who alone poſſeſſed the talent of ſpeaking, and had carried eloquence to the utmoſt heights of which it was capable. They valued themſelves upon ſpeaking extemporaneouſly, and without the leaſt preparation, upon any ſubject that could be propoſed to them. They boaſted their being capable of giving their auditors whatever impreſſions they pleaſed; *of teaching how to make the worſt of cauſes good, and of making † ſmall things ſeems great, and great ſmall, by dint of eloquence. This Plato tells us of Gorgias and Piſias. They were equally ready to maintain either ſide of any ſubject whatſoever. They held the True for nothing in their diſcourſes, and made the tour of their eloquence ſubſervient, not to demonſtrate Truth, and make it lovely, but as a mere wit-ſkirmiſh, and to give the Falſe the colours of the True, and the True thoſe of the Falſe.

The great theatre in which they endeavoured to ſhine, was the Olympic games. There, as I have

* Docere ſe profitebantur, arrogantibus ſanè verbis, quemadmodum cauſa inferior (ita enim loquebantur) dicendo fieri ſuperior poſſet. *In Brut.* n. 30.

† Τὰ σμικρὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα σμικρὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν τὰ ἐμὴν λόγε. *In Phædro*, p. 267.

already

already ſaid, in the preſence of an infinite number of auditors aſſembled from all parts of Greece, they affectedly diſplayed whatever is moſt pompous in eloquence. With little or no regard for the ſolidity of things, they employed whatever is moſt glittering and moſt capable of dazzling the mind, propoſing no other ends to themſelves than to pleaſe the multitude, and obtain their ſuffrages. And this did not fail to enſue, their diſcourſes being attended with univerſal applauſe. I need not obſerve how far ſuch an affectation might carry them, and how capable it was of ruining the taſte for good and ſolid eloquence.

This Socrates inceſſantly repreſented to the Athenians, as we find in ſeveral of Plato's dialogues, wherein he introduces him ſpeaking upon this ſubject. For we muſt not imagine, when he attacks and condemns rhetoric, as he often does, that he means the true and ſound rhetoric. He valued it as it deſerves, but could not ſuffer the infamous abuſe which the ſophiſts made of it, nor applaud, with the ignorant multitude, diſcourſes that had neither ſolidity, nor any real beauty in them. For, inſtead of dreſſing eloquence like a majeſtic queen, in the noble and ſplendid ornaments that become her dignity, but have nothing affected or unnatural in them, the ſophiſts ſet her off in a foreign, ſoft, effeminate garb, like an harlot, who derives all her graces from paint, has only borrowed beauties, and at moſt knows only how to charm the ears with the ſound of a ſweet harmonious voice. This is the idea which Quintilian and St. Jerom, conformably to Socrates, give us of the eloquence of the ſophiſts, and I imagine the reader will not be offended if I repeat their own terms in this place: *Quapropter eloquentiam, licet hanc (ut ſent. o. enim dicam) libidinoſam reſupina voluptate auditoria probent, nullam eſſe exiſtimabo, quæ ne minimum quidem in ſe indicium* Quintil. l. 5. c. 13.

S. Hieron. Præf. in l. 3. Comment. ad Galat.

dicium maſculini & incorrupti, ne dicam gravis & ſancti viri, oſtendet—Quaſi ad Athenæum & ad auditoria conveniatur, ut plauſus circumſtantium ſuſcitentur, ut oratio Rhetoricæ artis ſucata mendacio, quaſi quædam meretricula procedat in publicum, non tam eruditura populos, quam favorem populi quæſitura, & in modum pſalterii & tibiæ dulce canentis ſenſus demulceat audientium. Perſons of good ſenſe, from the remonſtrances of Socrates, ſoon perceived the falſity of this eloquence, and abated very much of the eſteem they had conceived for the ſophiſts.

A ſecond reaſon entirely loſt them the people's opinion: this was the defects and vices remarkable in their conduct. They were proud, haughty, and arrogant, full of contempt for others, and of eſteem for themſelves. They conceived themſelves the only perſons that underſtood, and were capable of teaching youth, the principles of rhetoric and philoſophy in a proper manner. They promiſed parents, with an air of aſſurance, or rather impudence, entirely to reform the corrupt manners of their children, and to give them, in a ſhort ſpace of time, all the knowledge that was neceſſary for filling the moſt important offices of the ſtate.

Lucian.

They did not do all this for nothing, neither did they pique themſelves upon generoſity. Their prevailing vice was avarice, and an inſatiable deſire of amaſſing riches. What was ſmartly ſaid of Apollonius the Stoic* philoſopher, whom the emperor Antoninus cauſed to come from the Eaſt, to be præceptor to Marcus Aurelius, whom he had adopted, may be applied to them. He brought

*. *It was this Apollonius, who, when he arrived at Rome, refuſed to go to the palace, ſaying, it was the pupil's buſineſs to come to the maſter. Antoninus only laughed at this fooliſh pride and fantaſtic oddity of the Stoic's humour, who had been well ſatisfied to come from the Eaſt to Rome, and, when at Rome, would not go from his houſe to the palace, and ſent Mar. Aurelius to hear him at home. That prince continued to go thither to receive his leſſons, even after he roſe to the imperial dignity.*

ſeveral

ſeveral other philoſophers with him to Rome, *all Argonauts*, ſaid a Cynic of thoſe times, *and well inclined to go in queſt of the golden fleece.* The ſophiſts ſold their inſtructions at a very great price, and, as they had found means to bait the parents with magnificent promiſes, and the world was infatuated with their knowledge and merit, they extorted boldly from them, and made the moſt of the warm deſire they expreſſed for the good education of their children. Protagoras * took of his diſciples, for teaching them rhetoric, an hundred minæ, or ten thouſand drachma's, that is to ſay, five thouſand livres. Gorgias, according to Diodorus Siculus and Suidas, had the ſame ſum. Demoſthenes paid as much for his inſtruction to the rhetorician Iſæus. Demonax. *About* 240l. *ſterling.* Diod. l. 12. Plut. in Iſæo. p. 106.

The perfect diſintereſtedneſs of Socrates, who had neither inheritance nor income, expoſed ſtill more, by the contraſt, the ſordid avidity of the ſophiſts, and was a continual cenſure of their conduct, much ſtronger than the ſharpeſt reproaches he could have made them.

Notwithſtanding theſe faults, which were perſonal to many of them, for ſome were not guilty of them, it muſt be confeſſed that the ſophiſts rendered the public great ſervices in the advancement of learning and the ſciences, which were in a manner depoſited with them for many ages.

Many cities of Greece and Aſia, to which people went from different countries, to imbibe, as at their ſource, all the ſciences, have produced at all times ſophiſts of great reputation. To abridge and conclude this article, I ſhall ſpeak only of one of theſe ſophiſts, the celebrated Libanius.

Libanius was of a good family of Antioch. He ſtudied at Athens, where he remained about four Lib. in vit. ſua. An. J. C. 339.

* A Protagora decem millibus denariorum didiciſſe artem quam edidit Evalthus dicitur. *Quint.* l. 3. c. 1.

years.

years. He was appointed by the proconsul to teach rhetoric there at the age of five and twenty; but this nomination did not take place. He was a very zealous defender of Paganism, which afterwards recommended him to the particular consideration of Julian the Apostate. He acquired great esteem by his wit and eloquence.

He distinguished himself principally at Constantinople and Antioch. He was professor in the first of these cities for some years at different times, where he contracted a particular friendship with St. Basil. That saint, before he went to Athens, came to Constantinople; and as that city abounded then with excellent philosophers and sophists, the vivacity and vast extent of his genius soon made him acquainted with whatever was best in their learning. Libanius, whose scholar he seems to have made himself, had an high regard for him, young as he was, upon account of the gravity of his manners, worthy the wisdom of old age; which, says he, I admired the more, as he lived in a city where the allurements of pleasure were endless. When he was informed that this saint, notwithstanding his great reputation, had retired from the world, all Pagan as he was, he could not but admire so generous an action, which equalled all that was greatest ever done by his philosophers. In all St. Basil's letters to him, we see the singular esteem he had for his works, and his affection for his person. He directed all the youth of Cappadocia, who desired to improve themselves in eloquence, to him, as the most excellent master of rhetoric then in being, and they were received by him with particular distinction. Libanius says a thing very much for his honour, in relation to one of these young men, whose circumstances were very narrow: that is, that he did not consider his pupils riches but their good-will; that if he found a young man poor, who professed

S. Greg. Naz. orat. 20. p. 325. An. J. C. 351.

Epist. Liban.

feſſed a great deſire to learn, he preferred him, without heſitating, to the richeſt of his diſciples; and *that he was very well pleaſed, when thoſe who had nothing to give were earneſt to receive his inſtructions. He adds, that it had not been his good fortune to meet with ſuch maſters: And indeed diſintereſtedneſs was not the virtue of the ſophiſts. Thoſe whoſe profeſſion is to teach know that the ſoil moſt fruitful in merit is poverty.

He writes to Themiſtius, a celebrated ſophiſt, whom his talents and wiſdom had raiſed to the higheſt employments in the ſtate, in a manner that ſhews Libanius had noble ſentiments, and the love of mankind at heart. "I do not congratulate you, "ſays he, upon the government of the city's being "conferred on you; but I congratulate the city "upon having made choice of you for ſo impor-"tant a truſt. You want no new dignities, but "the city is in great want of ſuch a governor as "you."

It were to be wiſhed, that Libanius had been as irreproachable in regard to his manners, as he was eſtimable for his wit and eloquence. He is alſo reproached with having been too full of eſteem for himſelf, and too great an admirer of his own works. This ought not to aſtoniſh us much. We might almoſt ſay, that vanity was the virtue of Paganiſm.

Libanius paſſed the laſt thirty-five years of his life at Antioch, from the year 354 to about 390, and profeſſed rhetoric there with great ſucceſs. Chriſtianity ſupplied him alſo with another illuſtrious diſciple in the perſon of St. Chryſoſtom. His mother, who ſpared nothing for his education, ſent him to Libanius's ſchool, the moſt excellent and the moſt famous ſophiſt, who then taught at Antioch, in order to his forming himſelf under ſo

*Ἀρκεῖ τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ δοῦναι, τὸ βουληθῆναι λαβεῖν.

great

great a maſter. His works, from whence he had been denominated *Golden Mouth*, ſhew the progreſs he made there. At firſt he frequented the bar, pleaded ſome cauſes, and declaimed in public. He ſent one of theſe diſcourſes in praiſe of the emperors to Libanius, who, in thanking him for it, tells him, that himſelf and ſeveral other perſons of learning, to whom he had ſhewed it, admired it. An author aſſures us, that, ſome of his friends aſking this ſophiſt when he was near death, whom he ſhould approve of to ſucceed him as profeſſor, he replied, that he ſhould have choſen our ſaint, if the Chriſtians had not engroſſed him: but his pupil had very different views.

Iſid. Peluſ. l. 2. Ep. 42.

Sozom. l. 8. c. 2.

If we may judge of the maſter by his ſcholars, and of his merit by their reputation, the two diſciples of Libanius, whom I have now cited, might alone do him great honour. And indeed he paſſed for a great orator, in the opinion of all the world. Eunapius ſays, that all his terms are curious and elegant, that whatever he writes has a peculiar ſweetneſs and inſinuating grace, with a ſprightlineſs and gaiety, that ſerve him inſtead of the ſalt of the antients.

Eunap. c. 14.

Libanius has left us a multitude of writings, which conſiſt of panegyrics, declamations, and letters: Of all his works, his letters have ever been the moſt eſteemed.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANTIENTS, &c.

OF POLITE LEARNING, OR THE BELLES LETTRES.

INTRODUCTION.

POETRY, Hiſtory, and Eloquence, include whatever is principally meant by Polite Learning, or the *Belles Lettres*. Of all the parts of literature, this has the moſt charms, diſplays the moſt luſtre, and is in ſome ſenſe the moſt capable of doing a nation honour by works, which, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, are the flower, the brighteſt growth; of the moſt refined and moſt exquiſite wit. I would not hereby be thought to undervalue the other ſciences in the leaſt, of which I ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, and which cannot be too highly eſteemed. I only obſerve, that thoſe we are to treat of, in this place, have ſomething more animated, more ſhining, and conſequently more apt to ſtrike mankind, and to excite their admiration; that they are acceſ-

ſible to a greater number of perſons, and enter more univerſally than the reſt into the uſe and commerce of men of wit. Poetry ſeaſons the ſolidity of her inſtructions with attractive graces, and the pleaſing images, in which ſhe induſtriouſly conveys them. Hiſtory, in recounting the events of paſt ages in a lively and agreeable manner, excites and gratifies our curioſity, and at the ſame time gives uſeful leſſons to kings, princes, and perſons of all conditions, under borrowed names, to avoid offending their delicacy. And laſtly eloquence, now ſhewing herſelf to us with a ſimple and modeſt grace, and then with all the pomp and majeſty of a potent queen, charms the ſoul, whilſt ſhe engages the heart, with a ſweetneſs and force, againſt which there is no reſiſtance.

Athens and Rome, thoſe two great theatres of human glory, have produced the greateſt men of the antient world as well for valour and military knowledge, as ability in the arts of government. But would thoſe great men have been known, and their names not been buried with them in oblivion, without the aid of the arts in queſtion, that have given them a kind of immortality, of which mankind are ſo jealous? Thoſe two cities themſelves, which are ſtill univerſally conſidered as the primitive ſources of good taſte in general, and which, in the midſt of the ruins of ſo many empires, preſerved a taſte for polite learning, that never will expire; are they not indebted for that glory to the excellent works of poetry, hiſtory, and eloquence, with which they have inriched the univerſe?

Rome ſeemed in ſome ſort to confine herſelf to this taſte for the Belles Lettres; at leaſt ſhe excelled in an eminent degree only in this kind of knowledge, which ſhe conſidered as more uſeful and more glorious than all others. Greece was richer as to the number of ſciences, and embraced them all without diſtinction. Her illuſtrious perſons, her princes, and kings, extended their protection to ſcience in gene-

ral,

ral, of whatſoever kind and denomination. Not to mention the many others who have rendered their names famous on this account, to what was Ptolemy Philadelphus indebted for the reputation that diſtinguiſhed him ſo much amongſt the kings of Egypt, but to his particular care in drawing learned men of all kinds to his court, in loading them with honours and rewards, and by their means in cauſing all arts and ſciences to flouriſh in his dominions? The famous library of Alexandria, inriched by his truly royal magnificence with ſo conſiderable a number of books, and the celebrated Muſeum, where all the learned aſſembled, have made his name more illuſtrious, and acquired him a more ſolid and laſting glory, than the greateſt conqueſts could have done.

France does not give place to Egypt in this point, to ſay no more. The king's famous library, infinitely augmented by the magnificence of Lewis XIV, is not the leaſt illuſtrious circumſtance of his reign. His ſucceſſor Lewis XV, who ſignaliſed the beginning of his own by the glorious eſtabliſhment of free inſtruction in the univerſity of Paris, to tread in the ſteps of his illuſtrious great-grandfather, has alſo piqued himſelf upon making the augmentation and decoration of the royal library his peculiar care. In a few years he has inriched it with from fifteen to eighteen thouſand printed volumes, and almoſt eight thouſand manuſcripts, part of the library of Mr. Colbert, the moſt ſcarce and antient come down to us; without mentioning thoſe brought very lately from Conſtantinople by the Abbé Sevin: ſo that the king's library at preſent amounts to about ninety thouſand printed volumes, and from thirty to thirty-five thouſand manuſcripts. It only remained to depoſit ſo precious a treaſure in a manner that might evidence all its value, and anſwer the reputation and glory of the kingdom. This Lewis XV. has alſo done, to fulfil the intentions of his great-grandfather, by cauſing a ſuperb edifice to be prepared

for his library, which is already the admiration of all ſtrangers, and, when finiſhed, will be the moſt magnificent receptacle for books in Europe.

The Muſeum of Alexandria was much admired: but what was it in compariſon with our academies of architecture, ſculpture, painting; the * *Academie Françoiſe*, that of Polite Learning or the *Belles Lettres*, and that of Sciences? Add to theſe the two moſt antient foundations of the kingdom; the College royal, where all the learned languages, and almoſt all the ſciences are taught; and the Univerſity of Paris, the mother and model of all the academies in the world, whoſe reputation ſo many ages have not impaired, and who, with her venerable wrinkles, continually retains the air and bloom of youth. If the number of the learned, who fill all theſe places, are added to the account, and their penſions eſtimated, it muſt be owned, that the reſt of Europe has nothing comparable to France in theſe reſpects. For the honour of the preſent reign and miniſtry, I cannot forbear obſerving, that during the war lately terminated ſo happily and gloriouſly for us, the payment of all thoſe penſions of the learned was neither ſuſpended nor delayed.

The reader will, I hope, pardon this ſmall digreſſion, which, however, is not entirely foreign to my ſubject, for the ſake of the warm love of my country, and the juſt ſenſe of gratitude that occaſioned it. Before I proceed to my ſubject, I think myſelf obliged to take notice, that I ſhall make great uſe of many of the diſſertations in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres, eſpecially in what relates to poetry. Thoſe extracts will ſhew how capable that academy is of preſerving the good taſte of the antients.

* Academie Françoiſe, *eſtabliſhed in* 1635, *for the purity of the French tongue.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER I.

Of the Poets.

IT is evident; if we conſider poetry in the purity of its firſt inſtitution, that it was invented originally to render the public homage of adoration and gratitude to the Divine Majeſty, and to teach men the moſt important truths of religion. This art, which ſeems ſo profane in our days, had its birth in the midſt of feſtivals, inſtituted in honour of the Supreme Being. On thoſe ſolemn days, when the Hebrews celebrated the remembrance of the wonders God had wrought in their favour, and when, at reſt from their labours, they gave themſelves up to an innocent and neceſſary joy, all places reſounded with canticles and ſacred ſongs, whoſe noble, ſublime, and majeſtic ſtile ſuited the greatneſs of the God they praiſed. In thoſe divine canticles what throngs do we not ſee of the moſt lively and animated beauties! Rivers rolling back to their ſources; ſeas opening and flying with dread; hills that ſkip, and mountains that melt like wax and diſappear; heaven and earth trembling and liſtening with awe and ſilence; and all nature in motion, and ſhaken before the face of its Author.

But, as the human voice alone failed in the utterance of ſuch amazing wonders, and ſeemed too weak to the people to expreſs the lively ſenſe of gratitude and adoration with which they were animated, to expreſs them with greater force, they called in to their aid the loud voices of thundering drums, trumpets, and all other inſtruments of muſic. In a kind of tranſport and religious enthuſiaſm this did not ſuffice; and the body was alſo made to have a part in the holy joy of the ſoul by impetuous but concerted emotions, in order that every thing in man might

render homage to the Divinity. Such were the beginnings of muſic, dancing, and poetry.

What man of good taſte, who, though not full of reſpect for the Sacred books, ſhould read the ſongs of Moſes with the ſame eyes he reads the odes of Pindar, but would be obliged to own that this Moſes, whom we know as the firſt hiſtorian and legiſlator of the world, is at the ſame time the firſt and moſt ſublime of poets? In his writings, poetry, even at the firſt inſtant of its birth, appears perfect, becauſe God himſelf inſpires it, and the neceſſity of arriving by degrees at perfection is a condition annexed only to arts of human invention. The prophets and the pſalms preſent us alſo with the like models. In them ſhines out that true poetry in all her majeſty of light, which excites none but happy paſſions, which moves the heart without depraving it, which pleaſes without ſoothing our frailties, which engages our attention without amuſing us with trivial and ridiculous tales, which inſtructs us without diſguſt, which makes us know God without repreſenting him under images unworthy of the Divine nature, and which always ſurpriſes without leading us aſtray thro' fantaſtic regions and chimerical wonders. Always agreeable, always uſeful; noble by bold expreſſions, glowing figures, and ſtill more by the truths ſhe denounces, it is ſhe alone that deſerves the name of Divine language.

When men had transferred to creatures the homage due only to the Creator, poetry followed the fortune of religion, always preſerving however traces of her firſt origin. She was employed at firſt to thank the falſe divinities for their ſuppoſed favours, and to demand new ones. She was ſoon indeed applied to other uſes: but in all times care was taken to bring her back to her original deſtination. Heſiod has written the genealogy of the gods in verſe: a very antient poet compoſed the hymns uſually aſcribed to Homer; of which kind of poem Callimachus afterwards wrote others. Even the works, that turned upon

upon different ſubjects, conducted and decided the events they related by the intervention and miniſtration of divinities. They taught mankind to conſider the gods as the authors of whatever happens in nature. Homer, and the other poets, every-where repreſent them as the ſole arbiters of our deſtinies. It is by them our courage is either exalted or depreſſed; they give or deprive us of prudence; diſpenſe ſucceſs and victory; and occaſion repulſe and defeat. Nothing great or heroic is executed without the ſecret or viſible aſſiſtance of ſome divinity. And, of all the truths they inculcate, they preſent none more frequently to our view, and eſtabliſh none with more care, than that valour and wiſdom are of no avail without the aid of Providence.

One of the principal views of poetry, and which was a kind of natural conſequence of the firſt, was alſo to form the manners. To be convinced of this, we have only to conſider the particular end of the ſeveral ſpecies of poetry, and to obſerve the general practice of the moſt illuſtrious poets. The Epic poem propoſed from the firſt to give us inſtructions diſguiſed under the allegory of an important and heroic action. The [redacted] the exploits of great men, in order [redacted] imitation of others. Tragedy, to inſpire us with hor[redacted]or guilt, by the fatal effects that ſucceed it; and with veneration for virtue, by the juſt praiſes and rewards which attend it. Comedy and ſatire, to correct whilſt they divert us, and to make implacable war with vice and folly. Elegy, to ſhed tears upon the tombs of perſons who deſerve to be lamented. [redacted]nd, laſtly the Paſtoral poem, to ſing the innocence and pleaſures of rural life. * If any of theſe kinds of poetry have in ſucceeding times been employed to different purpoſes, it is certain, that they were made to deviate from their natural inſtitution, and that in the beginning they all tended to the ſame end, which was to render man better.

I ſhall purſue this ſubject no farther, which would carry me beyond my bounds. I confine myſelf in ſpeaking of the poets to thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in each kind of poetry, and ſhall begin with the Greeks. I ſhall then proceed to the Romans, partly uniting them however ſometimes, eſpecially when it may ſeem neceſſary to compare them with each other.

As I have occaſionally treated on part of what relates to theſe illuſtrious writers elſewhere, to avoid uſeleſs and tedious repetitions, the reader will permit me to refer him thither, when the ſame matter recurs.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Greek poets.

EVERY body knows, that poetry was brought into Italy from Greece, and that Rome is indebted to her for all the reputation and glory ſhe acquired of this kind.

SECT. I.

Of the Greek poets who excelled in epic poetry.

I Do not rank eith[illegible]rpheus, and Muſæus, in the number of the poets. All the learned agree, that the poems aſcribed to them are ſuppoſititious.

HOMER.

Herod. l. 2. c. 53. A. M. 3120. Ant. J. C. 884. The period of time when Homer was born is not very certain. Herodotus places it 400 years before himſelf, and Uſher fixes the birth of Herodotus in the year of the world 3520. According to which Homer muſt have been born in the year 3120, that is to ſay, 340 years after the taking of Troy.

We have no better aſſurances concerning the place of his nativity, for which honour ſeven cities contended. Smyrna ſeems to have carried it againſt the reſt.

I have

I have ſpoken of epic poetry and Homer towards the end of the ſecond volume of this hiſtory, and with much greater extent in the firſt of my treatiſes upon the ſtudy of the Belles Lettres, where I have endeavoured to give the reader a taſte of the beauties of this poet.

Virgil, if we may judge of his views by his work, ſeems to have propoſed no leſs to himſelf than to diſpute the ſuperiority of epic poetry with Greece, and borrowed arms from his rival himſelf for that purpoſe. He juſtly diſcerned, that, as he was to bring the hero of his poem from the banks of the Scamander, it would be neceſſary for him to imitate the Odyſſey, which contains a great ſeries of voyages and narratives; and, as he was to make him fight for his ſettlement in Italy, that it would be as neceſſary to have the Iliad perpetually before his eyes, which abounds with action, battles, and all that intervention of the gods, which heroic poetry requires. Æneas makes voyages like Ulyſſes, and fights like Achilles. Virgil has interwoven the forty-eight books of Homer in the twelve of the Æneid. In the ſix firſt we diſcover the Odyſſey almoſt univerſally, as we do the Iliad in the ſix laſt.

The Greek poet has a great advantage, and no leſs pretence of ſuperiority, from having been the original, which the other copied; and what * Quintilian ſays of Demoſthenes, in regard to Cicero, may with equal juſtice be applied to him, that, however great Virgil may be, Homer in a great meaſure made him what he is. This advantage does not however fully decide their merit, and to which of them the preference ought to be given will always be a matter of diſpute.

We may in this point abide by the judgment of Quintilian, who, whilſt he leaves the queſtion undecided in a few words, perfectly ſpecifies the charac-

* Cedendum vero in hoc quidem, quod & ille (Demoſthenes) prior fuit, & ex magna parte Ciceronem, quantus eſt, fecit. *Lib.* 10. *cap.* 1.

ters

ters that diſtinguiſh thoſe two excellent poets. He tells us there is more genius and force of nature in the one, and more art and application in the other; and that what is wanting in Virgil on the ſide of the ſublime, in which the Greek poet is indiſputably ſuperior, is perhaps compenſated by the juſtneſs and equality that prevail univerſally throughout the Æneid: *Et hercle, ut illi naturæ cæleſti atque immortali ceſſerimus, ita curæ & diligentiæ vel ideo in hoc plus eſt, quod ei fuit magis laborandum: & quantum eminentioribus vincimur, fortaſſe æqualitate penſamus.* It is very hard to characteriſe theſe two poets better. The Iliad and Odyſſey are two great paintings, of which the Æneid is an abridgment or miniature. The latter requires a nearer view: every thing in it therefore muſt be perfectly finiſhed. But great pictures are ſeen at a diſtance: it is not neceſſary, that they ſhould be ſo exact and regular in all their ſtrokes: two ſcrupulous a niceneſs is even a fault in ſuch paintings.

HESIOD.

HESIOD is ſaid to have been born at Cumæ, a city of Æolia, but brought up from his infancy at Aſcra, a ſmall town of Bœotia, which from thence paſſed for his country: Virgil alſo calls him the old man of Aſcra. Authors differ much concerning the time in which he lived. The moſt general opinion is, that he was Homer's cotemporary. Of all his poems only three have come down to us: theſe are *The Works and Days*; *The Theogonia*, or the genealogy of the gods; and *The Shield of Hercules*; of which I have ſpoken elſewhere.

Aſcræumque ſenem. *Eclog. 6.*

Quintilian gives us his character in theſe words*: "Heſiod ſeldom riſes upon himſelf, and the greateſt "part of his works conſiſts almoſt entirely of proper "names. He has however uſeful ſentences for the

Vol. II. *of Antient Hiſtory.*

* Raro aſſurgit Heſiodus, magnaque pars ejus in nominibus eſt occupata: tamen utiles circa præcepta ſententiæ, lenitaſque verborum & compoſitionis probabilis: daturque ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere. *Lib.* 10. *cap.* 1.

"con-

" conduct of life, with ſufficient ſweetneſs of words, " and no unhappineſs of ſtile. He is allowed to " have ſucceeded beſt in the middle way of writing."

POETS *leſs known.*

TERPANDER. He was very famous both for poetry and muſic.

TYRTÆUS. He is believed to have been an Athenian. This poet made a great figure in the ſecond war of Meſſene. He excelled in celebrating military exploits. The Spartans had been ſeveral times defeated to their great diſcouragement. The oracle of Delphos bade them aſk a man of the Athenians capable of aſſiſting them with his counſel and abilities. Tyrtæus was ſent them. The conſequence at firſt did not anſwer the expectations of the Spartans. They were again defeated three times ſucceſſively, and were upon the point of returning to Sparta in deſpair. Tyrtæus re-animated them by his verſes, which breathed nothing but the love of one's country and contempt of death. Having reſumed courage, they attacked the Meſſenians with fury, and the victory they obtained, upon this occaſion, terminated a war they could ſupport no longer to their advantage. They conferred the freedom of their city upon Tyrtæus, a privilege they were by no means too profuſe of at Lacedæmon, which made it exceedingly honourable. The little that remains of his writings ſhews that his ſtile was very vigorous and noble. He ſeems tranſported himſelf with the ardour he endeavours to give his hearers: A. M. 3356. A. M. 3364. Pauſan. l. 4. p. 244, &c.

Tyrtæuſque mares animos in Martia bella
Verſibus exacuit. *Horat. in Art. Poet.*

By verſe the warrior's fire Tyrtæus feeds,
And urges manly minds to glorious deeds.

DRACO, a celebrated Athenian legiſlator. He compoſed a poem of three thouſand lines, intitled A. M. 3368.

Ὑποθῆκαι,

Ὑποθῆκαι, in which he laid down excellent precepts for the conduct of life.

A. M. 3368. Suidas. Herod. l. 4. c. 36. ABARIS, a Scythian by nation, according to Suidas, ſurnamed by others the Hyperborean. He compoſed ſeveral pieces of poetry. Stories of the laſt abſurdity are told of him, which even Herodotus himſelf does not ſeem to believe. He contents himſelf with ſaying that Barbarian had carried an arrow throughout the whole world, and that he ate nothing. Jamblicus goes farther, and pretends that Abaris was carried by his arrow through the air, and paſſed rivers, ſeas, and the moſt inacceſſible places in that manner, without being ſtopp'd by any obſtacle. It is ſaid, that, upon account of a great plague that raged in the country of the Hyperboreans, he was deputed to Athens by thoſe people.

Jambl. in vit. Pyth.

A. M. 3676. CHÆRILUS. There were ſeveral poets of this name. I ſpeak of him* in this place, who, notwithſtanding the badneſs of his verſes, in which there was neither taſte nor beauty, was however much eſteemed and favoured by Alexander the Great, from whom he received as great a reward as if he had been an excellent poet. Horace obſerves that liberality argued little taſte in that prince, who had been ſo delicate in reſpect to painting and ſculpture, as to prohibit by an edict all painters, except Apelles, to draw his picture, and all ſtatuaries, but Lyſippus, to make his ſtatue in braſs. Sylla, amongſt the Romans, acted as liberally, but with more prudence than Alexander, in regard to a poet who had preſented him with ſome wretched verſes: † He ordered a reward

* Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Chærilus, incultis qui verſibus & male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numiſma, Philippos,
Idem rex ille, poema
Qui tam ridiculum tam carè prodigus emit,
Edicto vetuit ne quis ſe, præter Apellem,
Pingeret, aut alius Lyſippo duceret æra
Fortis Alexandri vultum ſimulantia. *Hor. Ep.* 1. *l.* 2.

† Juſſit ei præmium tribui, ſub ea conditione ne quid poſtea ſcriberet. *Cic. pro Arch. poet. n.* 25.

to

to be given him, upon condition that he would never write more: very hard terms to a bad poet, however reaſonable in themſelves.

ARATUS was of Soloe, a city of Cilicia. He * A. M. compoſed a poem upon aſtronomy, which was very 3732. much eſteemed by the learned, according to Cicero. Quintilian ſpeaks leſs favourably of it. He ſays, † that the ſubject of Aratus was very dry and unaffecting, from having neither variety, paſſions, character, nor harangue in it: but that however he had done as much with it as his matter would admit, and had made choice of it as ſuiting his capacity. Cicero, at ſeventeen years of age, had tranſlated the poem of Aratus into Latin verſe, of which many fragments are come down to us in his treatiſe *De Natura Deorum.*

APOLLONIUS of Rhodes compoſed a poem upon A. M. the expedition of the Argonauts: *Argonautica.* 3756.

He was a native of Alexandria, and had ſucceeded Eratoſthenes as keeper of the famous library there in the reign of Ptolomæus Evergetes. Upon ſeeing himſelf ill treated by the other poets of that place, who loaded him with calumnies, he retired to Rhodes, where he paſſed the reſt of his days. This occaſioned his being ſurnamed *the Rhodian.*

EUPHORION of Chalcis. Antiochus the Great A. M. intruſted him with the care of his library. ‡ Virgil 3756. mentions him in his Bucolics. Eclog. 10. v. 50.

NICANDER of Colophon in Ionia, or, according A. M. to others, of Ætolia. He flouriſhed in the time of 3852. Attalus, the laſt king of Pergamus. He compoſed ſome poems upon medicine; Θηριακὰ and Ἀλεξιφάρμακα.

* Conſtat inter doctos hominem ignarum Aſtrologiæ, ornatiſſimis atque optimis verſibus Aratum de cœlo ſtelliſque dixiſſe.

† Arati materia motu caret, ut *in* qua nulla varietas, nullus affectus, nulla perſona, nulla cujuſquam ſit oratio. Sufficit tamen operi, cui ſe parem credidit. *Lib.* 10. *c.* 1.

‡ Quid? Euphorionem tranſibimus? Quem niſi probaſſet Virgilius, idem nunquam certè conditorum Chalcidico verſu carminum feciſſet in Bucolicis mentionem. *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

and

and others upon agriculture, which * Virgil imitated in his Georgics.

A. M. 3856. Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 194. Val. Max. l. 1. c. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 51.

ANTIPATER of Sidon. Cicero informs us, that he had ſo great a talent for poetry, and ſuch a facility in making verſes, that he could expreſs himſelf extemporaneouſly in hexameters, or any other kind of verſe, upon any ſubject. Valerius Maximus and Pliny ſay, that he had a fever regularly once every year upon the ſame day, which was the day of his birth and death.

A. M. 3858.

A. Licinius ARCHIAS, for whom Cicero's oration is extant. He wrote a poem upon the war with the Cimbri, and began another upon Cicero's conſulſhip. We have ſtill ſome of his epigrams in the *Anthologia*.

Macrob. l. 5. c. 17.

PARTHENIUS lived at the ſame time. He had been taken priſoner in the war with Mithridates, and was Virgil's maſter in Greek poetry.

A. D. 362.

APOLLINARIUS, biſhop of Laodicæa in Syria. I do not conſider him here as a biſhop, but as a poet, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf very much by Chriſtian poetry. Julian the Apoſtate had forbade all maſters, by a public edict, to teach the children of Chriſtians the profane authors. The pretext for this edict was, that it was not conſiſtent to explain them to youth as illuſtrious writers, and at the ſame time to condemn their religion. But the true motives for that prohibition were the great advantages the Chriſtians found in the profane books againſt paganiſm. This edict induced the two Apollinarii to compoſe ſeveral works of uſe to religion.

The father, of whom we ſpeak, and who was a grammarian, wrote in heroic verſe, and in imitation of Homer, the Sacred hiſtory in four and twenty books down to the reign of Saul, denominating each book with a letter of the Greek alphabet. He imitated Menander in comedies, Euripides in tragedies,

* Quid? Nicandrum fruſtra ſecuti Macer atque Virgilius? *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

and

and Pindar in odes; taking his ſubjects from the Holy Scripture, and obſerving the character and ſtile of the ſeveral kinds of poetry in which he wrote, in order that the Chriſtians might diſpenſe with the want of the profane authors in learning the Belles Lettres.

His ſon, who was a ſophiſt, that is to ſay, a rhetorician and philoſopher, compoſed dialogues after the manner of Plato, to explain the goſpels and the doctrine of the Apoſtles.

Julian's perſecution was of ſo ſhort a continuance, that the works of the Apollinarii became uſeleſs, and the profane authors were again read. Hence of all their poems none are come down to us, except the Pſalms paraphraſed by Apollinarius the elder, who had the misfortune to give into heterodox opinions concerning Jeſus Chriſt.

St. GREGORY of Nazianzum, cotemporary with Apollinarius, compoſed alſo a great number of verſes of all kinds: Suidas makes them amount to thirty thouſand, of which only a part have been preſerved. Moſt of them were the employment and fruit of his retirement. Though he was very much advanced in years at the time he wrote them, we find in them all the fire and vigour that could be deſired in the works of a young man. A. D. 350.

In compoſing his poems, which ſerved him for amuſement in his ſolitude, and for conſolation in his bodily infirmities, he had young perſons, and thoſe who love polite learning, in view. To withdraw them from dangerous ſongs and poems, he was for ſupplying them not only with an innocent but uſeful diverſion, and at the ſame time for rendering the truth agreeable to them. There is alſo reaſon to believe, that one of his views was to oppoſe poems, in which every thing was ſtrictly orthodox, to thoſe of Apollinarius, that contained abundance of opinions repugnant to the Chriſtian faith.

In making poetry ſubſervient in this manner to religion, he recalled it to its primitive inſtitution. He treated

treated on nothing in his verſes but ſuch ſubjects of piety, as might animate, purify, inſtruct, or elevate the ſoul to God. In propoſing ſound doctrine to Chriſtians in them, he baniſhes from them all the filth and folly of fable, and would have thought it profaning his pen to have employed it in reviving the heathen divinities, that Chriſt had come to aboliſh.

Such are the models we ought to follow. I ſpeak here of a ſaint, who had all the beauty, vivacity, and ſolidity of wit, it is poſſible to imagine: He had been inſtructed in the Belles Lettres by the moſt able maſters at that time of the pagan world. He had read with extreme application all the antient poets, of which we often find traces even in his proſe writings. He contented himſelf with having acquired a refined taſte of poetry from them, and with having thoroughly ſtudied and comprehended all their beauties and delicacy; but never introduced any of the profane divinities into his own pieces, which were not re-admitted by the poets till many ages after. Ought what thoſe glorious ages of the church condemned and forbade to be allowed now? I have treated on this * ſubject elſewhere with ſome extent.

A. D. 420. For the honour of poetry and the poets, I ought not to omit mentioning EUDOCIA, the daughter of the ſophiſt Leontius the Athenian, who, before ſhe was a Chriſtian, and had married the emperor Theodoſius the younger, was called *Athenais*. Her father had given her an excellent education, and made her extremely learned and judicious. The ſurpriſing beauty of her aſpect was however inferior to that of her wit. She wrote an heroic poem upon her huſband's victory over the Perſians, and compoſed many other pieces upon pious ſubjects, of which we ought very much to regret the loſs.

SYNESIUS, biſhop of Ptolemais, lived at the ſame time. Only ten hymns of his are come down to us.

* *Method of ſtudying the Belles Lettres*, Vol. I.

I paſs

I paſs over in ſilence many other poets mentioned by authors but little known to us, and am afraid that I have already been only too long upon thoſe of this kind.

I proceed now to the Tragic and Comic poets. But, as I have treated both with ſufficient extent in the fifth volume of this hiſtory, I ſhall do little more in this place than mention their names, and the times when they lived.

SECT. II.

Of the Tragic Poets.

THESPIS * is conſidered as the inventor of tragedy. It is eaſy to judge how groſs an imperfect it was in its beginning. He ſmeared the faces of his actors with lees of wine, and carried them from village to village in a cart, from which they repreſented their pieces. He lived in the time of Solon. That wiſe legiſlator, being preſent one day at one of theſe repreſentations, cried out, ſtriking the ground with his ſtick, *I am very much afraid, that theſe poetical fictions, and ingenious fancies, will ſoon have a ſhare in our public and private affairs.* A. M. 3480. Plut. in Solon. p. 95.

ÆSCHYLUS † was the firſt that improved tragedy, and placed it in honour. He gave his actors maſks, more decent dreſſes, the high-heel'd boot or buſkin called *Cothurnus*, and built them a little theatre. ‡ His manner of writing is noble, and even ſublime; his elocution loftty, and ſoaring often to bombaſt. A. M. 3508.

In a public diſpute of the tragic poets, inſtituted upon account of the bones of Theſeus which Cimon Plut. in Cimon. p. 483.

* Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe Camœnæ
Dicitur & plauſtris vexiſſe poëmata Theſpis,
Quæ canerent agerentque perunctis fæcibus ora.
Horat. in Art. Poet.

† Poſt hunc perſonæ pallæque repertor honeſtæ
Æſchylus, & modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique Cothurno. *Hor.* ibid.

‡ Tragœdias primus in lucem Æſchylus protulit, ſublimis, gravis, & grandiloquus, ſæpe uſque ad vitium. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

had brought to Athens, the prize was adjudged to Sophocles. The grief of Æſchylus was ſo great upon ſeeing himſelf deprived by a young poet of the glory he had ſo long poſſeſſed, of being the moſt excellent in the theatre, that he could not bear to ſtay in Athens any longer. He left it, and retired to Sicily to the court of king Hiero, where he died in a very
Suid. ſingular manner. As he lay aſleep in the country with his bald head uncovered, an eagle, taking it for a ſtone, let fall a heavy tortoiſe upon it, which killed him. Of fourſcore and ten tragedies which he compoſed, ſome ſay only twenty-eight, and others no more than thirteen, carried the prize.

A. M. 3532. SOPHOCLES and EURIPIDES. Theſe two * poets appeared at the ſame time, and rendered the Athenian ſtage very illuſtrious by tragedies equally admirable, though very different in their ſtile. The firſt was great, lofty, and ſublime: the other tender, pathetic, and abounding with excellent maxims for the manners and conduct of human life. The judgment of the public was divided in reſpect to them; as we are at this day in regard to † two poets, who have done ſo much honour to the French ſtage, and made it capable of diſputing pre-eminence with that of Athens,

SECT. III.

Of the Comic Poets.

A. M. 3564. EUPOLIS, CRATINUS, and ARISTOPHANES made the comedy, called *antient comedy*, very famous. This ſerved the Greeks inſtead of ſatire. The higheſt perfection of what is called *Atticiſm* was peculiar to it, that is to ſay, whatever is fineſt, moſt elegant, and moſt delicate in ſtile, to which no other poetry could come near. I have ſpoken of it elſewhere.

* Longe clarius illuſtraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides: quorum in diſpari dicendi vi uter ſit poeta melior, inter plurimos quæritur. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† Corneille and Racine.

MENAN-

MENANDER. He invented and excelled all others in the *New comedy*. Plutarch prefers him infinitely to Ariſtophanes. He admires an agreeable, refined, delicate, lively ſpirit of humour, a vein of pleaſantry in him, that never departs in the leaſt from the ſtricteſt rules of probity and good manners: whereas the bitter and mercileſs raillery of Ariſtophanes is exceſſive abuſe, is murder in jeſt, that without the leaſt reſerve tears the reputation of the moſt worthy to pieces, and violates all the laws of modeſty and decency with an impudence that knows no bounds. * Quintilian is not afraid to declare, that the brightneſs of Menander's merit had entirely eclipſed and obliterated the reputation of all the writers in the ſame way. But the greateſt praiſe which can be given this poet is to ſay, that Terence, who ſcarce did any thing beſides copying his plays, is allowed by good judges to have fallen very ſhort of his original. A. M. 3580. Plut. in Moral. p. 853.

Aulus Gellius has preſerved ſome paſſages of Menander, which had been imitated by Cæcilius, an antient Latin comic poet. At the firſt reading, he thought the verſes of the latter very fine. But he affirms, that as ſoon as he compared them with thoſe of the Greek poet, their beauty entirely diſappeared, and they ſeemed wretched and contemptible. Lib. 2. c. 23.

Menander was not treated with all the juſtice he deſerved during his life. Of more than an hundred comedies which he brought upon the ſtage, only eight carried the prize. Whether through intrigue or combination againſt him, or the bad taſte of the judges, PHILEMON †, who undoubtedly deſerved only the ſecond place, was always preferred before him.

In the fifth volume we have explained all that relates to the Antient, Middle, and New Comedy.

* Atque ille quidem omnibus ejuſdem operis auctoribus abſtulit nomen, & fulgore quodam-ſuæ claritatis tenebras obduxit. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† Philemon, ut pravis ſui temporis judiciis Menandro ſæpe prælatus eſt, ita conſenſu omnium meruit credi ſecundus. *Quintil.* ibid.

SECT. IV.

Of the Iambic Poets.

A. M. 3280. ARCHILOCUS, a native of Pharos, the inventor of Iambic verſes, lived in the reign of Candaules king of Lydia. See what we have ſaid of him towards the end of the ſecond volume.

A. M. 3460. Suidas. HIPPONAX was a native of Epheſus. Upon being expelled from thence by the tyrants that governed there, he went and ſettled at Clazomenæ. He was ugly, ſhort, and thin: but his uglineſs occaſioned his being immortaliſed; for he is hardly known by any thing except the ſatyrical verſes he compoſed againſt the brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, two ſculptors who had made his figure in the moſt ridiculous manner in their power. He diſcharged ſuch a number of keen and virulent verſes againſt them, that, according to ſome authors, they hanged themſelves through vexation. But Pliny obſerves, that ſtatues of theirs were in being, made after that time. The invention of the verſe called Scazon, *Limping*, is aſcribed to Hipponax, in the laſt foot of which there is always a ſpondee inſtead of an Iambus.

SECT. V.

Of the Lyric Poets.

THE poetry which was made to be ſung to the lyre, or the like inſtruments, was called *Lyric Poetry*. Compoſitions of this kind were named odes, that is to ſay, ſongs, and were divided into ſtrophe's or ſtanza's.

The end of poetry is to pleaſe the imagination. But, if the different kinds of poetry, as the paſtoral, elegiac, and epic, attain that end by different means, the ode attains it more certainly, becauſe it includes them

them all; and, as the famous painter of old united in one picture all that he had obſerved of moſt graceful and conſummate in many of the fair ſex, ſo the ode unites in itſelf all the different beauties of which the different ſpecies of poetry are ſuſceptible. But it has ſtill ſomething elſe peculiar to itſelf, which conſtitutes its true character. This is enthuſiaſm; in which view the poets believe they may alſo compare her to that Juno of Homer, who borrows the girdle of Venus to exalt the graces of her form, but who is ſtill the ſame queen of the gods, diſtinguiſhed by the air of majeſty peculiar to her, and even by the fury and violence of her character.

This enthuſiaſm is more eaſy to conceive, than poſſible to define. When a writer is ſeized with it, his genius glows ardent, his imagination catches fire, and all the faculties of his ſoul awake, and concur to the perfection of his work. Now noble thoughts and the moſt ſhining ſtrokes of wit, and then the moſt tender and beautiful images, crowd upon him. The warmth alſo of his enthuſiaſm often tranſports him in ſuch a manner, that he can contain himſelf no longer; he then abandons himſelf to that living impetuoſity, that beautiful diſorder, which infinitely tranſcend the regularity of the moſt ſtudious art.

Theſe different impreſſions produce different effects: deſcriptions ſometimes ſimple but exquiſitely beautiful, and at other times rich, noble, and ſublime; compariſons juſt and lively; ſhining ſtrokes of morality; alluſions happily borrowed from hiſtory or fable; and digreſſions a thouſand times more beautiful than the chain of the ſubject itſelf. Harmony, the ſoul of verſe, at this moment, coſts the poet no trouble. Noble expreſſions and happy numbers ſpontaneouſly riſe up, and diſpoſe themſelves in due order, like ſtones to the lyre of Amphion; and nothing ſeems the effect of ſtudy or pains. The poems of enthuſiaſm have ſuch a peculiar beauty, that they can neither be read or heard without imparting the

ſame fire that produced themſelves; and the effect of the moſt exquiſite muſic is neither ſo certain nor ſo great, as that of verſes borne in this poetic fury, this diviner flame of the mind.

This little paſſage, which I have extracted from the ſhort but eloquent diſſertation of the Abbé Fraguier upon Pindar, ſuffices to give the reader a juſt idea of lyric poetry, and at the ſame time of Pindar, who holds the firſt rank amongſt the nine Greek poets that excelled in this way of writing, of whom it remains for me to ſay a few words.

A. M. 3135. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 41. Plutarch ſpeaks of *THALES, whom Lycurgus perſuaded to go and ſettle at Sparta. He was a lyric poet (not one of the nine mentioned juſt before) but under the appearance of compoſing only ſongs, he in effect did all that the graveſt legiſlators could have been capable of doing. For all his poetical pieces were ſo many diſcourſes to incline men to obedience and concord, by the means of certain numbers ſo harmonious, ſo elegant, ſtrong, and ſweet, that they inſenſibly rendered the manners of thoſe that heard them leſs rude and ſavage, and induced a love of order and probity, by baniſhing the animoſities and diviſions that prevailed amongſt them. Thus by the charming impreſſions of a melodious kind of poetry, he prepared the way for Lycurgus to inſtruct and amend his citizens.

A. M. 3324. Plut. de exil. p. 599. ALCMAN was a native of Sardis in Lydia. The Lacedæmonians adopted him on account of his merit, and granted him the freedom of their city, upon which he congratulates himſelf in his poems as a ſingular honour to him. He flouriſhed in the time of Ardys, ſon of Gyges, king of Lydia.

A. M. 3398. Pauſan Lacon. 220. STESICHORUS was of Himera, a city of Sicily. Pauſanias relates, that this poet having loſt his ſight as a puniſhment for verſes which he had made in diſ-

* *Plutarch ſeems to confound this Thales with Thales of Miletus, one of the ſeven ſages, who lived above two hundred and fifty years after him.*

praiſe

praiſe of Hellen, did not recover it, till he had recanted his invectives by a new piece, the reverſe of the former, which was afterwards called *Palinodia*. Quintilian * tells us, that he ſung of great wars, and the moſt illuſtrious heroes, and that he ſuſtained the pomp and ſublimity of epic poetry on the lyre. Horace gives him the ſame character in a ſingle epithet, *Steſichorique graves Camœnæ*, Steſichorus's *lofty* muſe.

ALCÆUS. He was born at Mitylene, a city of Leſbos: it is from him the Alcaic verſe took its name. He was a declared enemy to the tyrants of Leſbos, and in particular to Pittacus, whom he perpetually laſhed in his poems. He is ſaid to have been ſeized with ſuch terror in a battle, where he happened to be, that he threw down his arms, and fled. † Horace relates a like adventure of himſelf. Poets pique themſelves leſs upon their valour than their wit. ‡ Quintilian ſays, that the ſtile of Alcæus is cloſe, lofty, correct, and, what crowns his praiſe, that he very much reſembles Homer. A. M. 3400. Herod. l. 5. c. 95.

SAPPHO. She was of the ſame place, and lived at the ſame time with Alcæus. The Sapphic verſe is ſo called from her. She had three brothers, Larychus, Eurygius, and Charaxus. She celebrated the firſt extremely in her poems, and on the contrary is as ſevere againſt Charaxus, for being deſperately in love with the courtezan Rhodope, the ſame that built one of the pyramids of Egypt.

Sappho compoſed a conſiderable number of poems, of which only two are come down to us, but theſe ſuffice to prove, that the praiſes given her by all ages for the beauty, paſſion, numbers, harmony, and infinite delicacies of her verſe, are not without

* Steſichorum, quam ſit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque oſtendunt, maxima bella & clariſſimos canentem duces, & Epici carminis onera lyra ſuſtinentem. *Lib.* 10. *cap.* 1.

† Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Senſi, relicta non bene parmula.

‡ In eloquendo brevis, & magnificus, & diligens, plerumque Homero ſimilis, *l.* 10. *c.* 1.

foundation. Hence ſhe was called the *Tenth Muſe*, and the people of Mitylene cauſed her image to be ſtamped on their coin.

It were to be wiſhed that the purity of her manners had equalled the beauty of her genius, and that ſhe had not diſhonoured her ſex and poetry by her vices and licentiouſneſs.

It is ſaid, that frantic with deſpair thro' the obſtinate reſiſtance to her deſires of Phaon, a young man of Leſbos, ſhe threw herſelf into the ſea from the top of the promontory of Leucadia in Acarnania; a remedy frequently uſed in Greece by thoſe who were unfortunate in this paſſion.

A. M. 3512. Her. l. 3. p. 121.

ANACREON. This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He paſſed much of his time at the court of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, famous for the uninterrupted proſperity of his life and tragical end; and was not only of all his parties of pleaſure, but of his council. Plato informs us, that Hipparchus, one of the ſons of Piſiſtratus, ſent a galley of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote to him, in the moſt obliging terms, to prevail upon him to come to Athens, where his fine works would be eſteemed and taſted according to their merit. Joy and pleaſure are ſaid to have been his ſole ſtudy, as indeed we may well believe from what remains of his poems. They every-where ſhew, that his hand wrote what his heart felt, and are of a delicacy more eaſy to conceive than expreſs. Nothing would be more eſtimable than his compoſitions, had their object been better.

In Hipparch. p. 228—229.

A. M. 3444.

SIMONIDES. He was of the iſland of Cea, one of the Cyclades in the Ægean ſea. He wrote the famous naval battle of Salamis in the Doric dialect. * His ſtile was delicate, natural, and agreeable. He was pathetic, and excelled in exciting compaſſion,

* Simonides tenuis, alioqui ſermone proprio & jucunditate quadam commendari poteſt. Præcipua tamen ejus in commovenda miſeratione virtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus ejuſdem operis auctoribus præferant. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

which

which was his peculiar talent, and that by which the antients have characteriſed him:

> Paulum quidlibet allocutionis
> Mœſtius lachrymis Simonideis. *Catull.*
> *Something ſadder to my ears*
> *Than Simonides in tears.*

Horace ſays of him to the ſame effect:

> Sed ne, relictis, muſa procax, jocis,
> Ceæ retractes munera næniæ.
> *But whither, wanton muſe, away,*
> *Wherefore ceaſe we to be gay,*
> *Things of woe why thus prolong,*
> *Things that fit the Cean's ſong?*

IBYCUS. Nothing is known of him, beſides his name, and a few fragments come down to us. A. M. 3464.

BACCHYLIDES. He was of the iſland of Cea and the ſon of a brother of Simonides. Hiero preferred his poems to thoſe of Pindar in the Pythian games. Ammianus Marcellinus ſays, that Julian the Apoſtate delighted much in reading this poet. A. M. 3552.

PINDAR. Quintilian places him at the head of the nine lyric poets. His peculiar merit and prevailing character are that majeſty, grandeur, and ſublimity, which often exalt him above the rules of art, to which it were wrong to expect, that the productions of a great genius ſhould be ſervilely confined. We find in his odes a ſenſible effect of the enthuſiaſm I have ſpoken of in the beginning of this ſection. It might appear a little too bold, if not ſoftened with a mixture of leſs ardent and more agreeable beauties. The poet diſcerned this himſelf; which made him ſtrew flowers abundantly from time to time. His celebrated rival Corynna reproached him with exceſs in this point. A. M. 3528.

Horace indeed praiſes him only in reſpect to ſublimity. He calls him a ſwan, borne by the impetuoſity

of

of his flight, and the aid of the winds, above the clouds; a torrent, that, ſwelled by rains, bears down all before it in the rapidity of its courſe. But conſider it in other lights, it is a ſmooth ſtream, rolling its clear pure waves over golden ſands, through flowery banks and verdant plains; a bee, collecting whatever is moſt precious from the flowers, for the compoſition of its fragrant nectar.

His ſtile is always ſuited to his manner of thinking, cloſe, conciſe, without too many expreſs connections, or tranſitionary terms: thoſe imply themſelves ſufficiently in the chain of his matter, and their abſence exalts the vigour of his verſes. Attention to tranſitions would have abated the poet's fire, in giving his enthuſiaſm time to cool.

In ſpeaking thus of Pindar, I do not pretend to propoſe him as an author without faults. I own he has ſome, which it is not eaſy to excuſe: but at the ſame time, the number and greatneſs of the beauties, with which they are attended, ought to cover and almoſt make them diſappear. Horace, who is a good judge of every thing, and eſpecially of our preſent ſubject, muſt have had a very high idea of his merit, as he is not afraid to ſay, that to emulate him is manifeſt temerity: *Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet æmulari, &c.*

Ælian. l. 13. c. 25. Pindar had a dangerous rival in the perſon of CORYNNA, who excelled in the ſame kind of poetry, and five times carried the prize againſt him in the public diſputes. She was ſurnamed *the Lyric Muſe.*

Plut. in Alex. p. 672. Alexander the Great, when he ruined the city of Thebes, the country of our illuſtrious poet, long after his death, paid a juſt and glorious homage to his merit in the perſons of his deſcendants, whom he diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the inhabitants of that unfortunate place, by ordering particular care to be taken of them.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of ſome of Pindar's works, in the hiſtory of Hiero: the reader may conſult the paſſage, Vol. III.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Of the Elegiac Poets.

ELEGY, according to Didymus, is derived from ἔ, ἔ λέγειν, *to ſay, ah! ah! or alas!* And according to others, from ἐλεὸν-λέγειν, *to ſay moving things.* The Greeks, and after them the Romans, compoſed their plaintive poems, their elegies, in hexameter and pentameter verſes. From whence every thing written in thoſe verſes has been called elegy, whether the ſubject be gay or ſad.

Verſibus impariter junctis querimonia primum,
Mox etiam incluſa eſt voti ſententia compos.
Horat. in Art. Poet.

Grief did at firſt ſoft elegy employ,
That now oft dries her tears, to ſing of joy.

No Greek elegy of the firſt ſort is come down to us, except that inſerted by Euripides in his Andromache, which conſiſts only of fourteen lines. The inventor of this kind of poetry is not known.

Quis tamen exiguos elegos emiſerit auctor,
Grammatici certant, & adhuc ſub judice lis eſt.
Ibid.

Yet, who firſt ſigh'd in elegiac ſtrain,
The learn'd ſtill doubt, and ſtill conteſt in vain.

As it was intended at its inſtitution for tears and lamentations, it was employed at firſt only in grief and misfortune. It expreſſed no other ſentiments, it breathed no other accents but thoſe of ſorrow. With the negligence natural to affliction and diſtreſs, it ſought leſs to pleaſe than to move, and aimed at exciting pity, not admiration. It was afterwards uſed on all ſorts of ſubjects, and eſpecially the paſſion of love. It however always retained the character peculiar to it, and did not loſe ſight of its original invention.

vention. Its thoughts were always natural and far from the affectation of wit; its ſentiments tender and delicate, its expreſſion ſimple and eaſy, always retaining that alternate inequality of meaſure, which Ovid makes ſo great a merit in it *(In pedibus vitium cauſa decoris erat)* and which gives the elegiac poetry of the antients ſo much the advantage over ours.

Periander, Pittacus, Solon, Chilo, and Hippias wrote their precepts of religion, morality, and policy, in elegiac verſe, in which Theognis of Megara, and Phocylides, imitated them. Many of the Poets alſo, of whom I have ſpoken before, compoſed elegies: but I ſhall ſay nothing here of any but thoſe who applied themſelves particularly to this kind of poetry, and ſhall make choice only of a ſmall number of them.

A. M. 3230. CALLINUS. He was of Epheſus, and is one of the moſt antient of the elegiac poets. It is believed that he flouriſhed about the beginning of the Olympiads.

A. M. 3408. MIMNERMUS, of Colophon, or Smyrna, was cotemporary with Solon. Some make him the inventor of elegiac verſe. He at leaſt gave it its perfection, and was perhaps the firſt, who transferred it from funerals to love. The fragments of his, which are come down to us, breathe nothing but pleaſure, whence Horace ſays of him,

> Si, Mimnermus uti cenſet, ſine amore jociſque
> Nil eſt jucundum, vivas in amore jociſque.
> *Horat. l.* 1. *Epiſt.* 6.

> *As Mimnermus thinks,*
> *If without love and pleaſure nought is joy,*
> *In love and pleaſure life's ſwift hours employ.*

A. M. 3444. SIMONIDES, whoſe verſes were ſo pathetic, might be ranked amongſt the elegiac poets: but I have given him a place elſewhere.

A. M. 3724. PHILETAS of Cos, and CALLIMACHUS of Cyrene, lived both in the court of Ptolomy Philadelphus, whoſe preceptor Philetas certainly was, and Callimachus

machus is believed to have been his librarian. The latter is conſidered as the principal author of elegiac poetry, and as the perſon who ſucceeded beſt in it: *Cujus (elegiæ) princeps Callimachus*; and Philetas as the next to him: *Secundas, confeſſione plurimorum, Philetas occupavit.* Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

This is Quintilian's opinion: but Horace ſeems to rank Mimnermus above Callimachus:

——————— Si plus adpoſcere viſus,
Fit Mimnermus, & optivo cognomine creſcit.
Epiſt. 2. l. 2.

Call him Callimachus? If more his claim,
Mimnermus he ſhall be, his wiſh'd ſurname.

Callimachus had applied himſelf to every kind of literature.

SECT. VII.

Of the Epigrammatical Poets.

THE epigram is a ſhort kind of poem, ſuſceptible of all ſubjects, which ought to conclude with an happy, ſprightly, juſt thought. The word in Greek ſignifies *Inſcription.* Thoſe which the antients placed upon tombs, ſtatues, temples, and triumphal arches, were ſometimes in verſe, but verſe of the greateſt ſimplicity of ſtile. That name has ſince been confined to the ſpecies of poetry, of which I ſpeak. The epigram generally conſiſts of only a ſmall number of lines: more extent however is ſometimes given it.

I have ſaid that this kind of poem is ſuſceptible of all kinds of ſubjects. This is true, provided care be taken to exclude all calumny and obſcenity from it.

The * liberty, which the comic poets gave themſelves at Athens, of attacking the moſt conſiderable and

In vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi: lex eſt accepta, choruſque
Turpiter obticuit. *Horat. in Art. Poet.*

Next

and moſt worthy of the citizens without reſerve, made way for a law to prohibit the mangling of any body's reputation in verſe. At Rome, amongſt * the laws of the twelve tables, which very rarely condemned to death, there was one that made it capital for any body to defame a citizen in verſe. Cicero's reaſon is no leſs juſt than remarkable. "This law, "ſays he, was wiſely inſtituted. There are tribu- "nals, to which we may be cited to anſwer for our "conduct before the magiſtrates: our reputation "therefore ought not to be abandoned to the mali- "cious wit of the poets, nor ſcandalous accuſations "ſuffered to be formed againſt us, without its being "in our power to anſwer them, and defend ourſelves "before the judges." *Præclarè. Judiciis enim ac magiſtratuum diſceptationibus legitimis propoſitam vitam, non poetarum ingeniis, habere debemus; nec probrum audire, niſi ea conditione, ut reſpondere liceat, & judicio defendere.*

The ſecond exception, which regards purity of manners, is neither leſs important, nor leſs founded in reaſon. Our propenſity to evil and vice is already but too natural and headſtrong, and does not want any incentives from the charms and inſinuations of delicate verſes, the poiſon of which, concealed under the flowers of pleaſing poetry, to borrow the terms which † Martial applies to the Sirens, gives us a cruel joy, and, by its inchanting ſweetneſs, conveys diſeaſe and bane into the ſoul. The wiſeſt legiſlators

Next comedy appear'd with great applauſe,
Till her licentious and abuſive tongue
Waken'd the magiſtrate's coercive power,
And forc'd it to ſuppreſs her inſolence. Roſcommon.

* Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus eſt Judiciumque.

Noſtræ contra XII. tabellæ, cum perpaucas res capite ſanxiſſent, in his hanc quoque ſanciendam putaverunt, ſi quis actitaviſſet, ſive carmen condidiſſet quod infamiam afferret, flagitiumve alteri. *Cic. de Rep. l. 4. apud S. Auguſt. l. 1 .c. 9. de Civit.*

† Sirenes, hilarem navigantium pœnam,
Blandaſque mortes, gaudiumque crudele.

of

of antiquity always conſidered thoſe who abuſe the art of poetry to ſuch purpoſes, as the peſts of ſociety, as the enemies and corrupters of mankind, that ought to be abhorred, and kept under with the higheſt marks of infamy and diſgrace. Such wiſe laws had not the good effect to be hoped from them, eſpecially in reſpect to the epigram, which of all the ſpecies of poetry has abandoned itſelf moſt to obſcenity.

In obſerving the two rules I have now laid down, epigrams would not have been dangerous, in reſpect to manners, and might have been uſeful as to ſtile, by throwing into it occaſionally and with diſcretion thoſe agreeable, lively, quaint thoughts, which we find at the end of good epigrams. But what in its origin was beauty, delicacy, and vivacity of wit, (which is properly what the Romans underſtand by the words, *acutus*, *acumen*) ſoon degenerated into a vicious affectation that extended even to proſe, of which it became the faſhion ſtudiouſly to conclude almoſt all the phraſes and periods with a glittering thought, in the nature of a point. We ſhall have occaſion to expatiate farther upon that head.

F. Vavaſeur the jeſuit has treated the ſubject we are upon more at large, in the no leſs learned than elegant preface to the three books of epigrams, which he has given the public. There are alſo uſeful reflections upon the ſame ſubject in the book, called *Epigrammatum Delectus*.

We have a collection of Greek epigrams called *Anthologia*.

MELEAGER, a native of Gadara, a city of Syria, who lived in the reign of Seleucus, the laſt king of that realm, made the firſt collection of Greek epigrams, which he called *Anthologia*, becauſe as he had choſen the brighteſt and moſt florid epigrams of forty-ſix antient poets, he conſidered his collection as a noſegay, and denominated each of thoſe poets after ſome flower, Anytus *the lilly*, Sappho *the roſe*, &c.

After

After him PHILIP of Theſſalonica made a ſecond collection, in the time of the emperor Auguſtus, out of only fourteen poets. AGATHIAS made a third, about five hundred years after, in the reign of the emperor Juſtinian. PLANUDES, a monk of Conſtantinople, who lived in the year 1380, made the fourth and laſt, which he divided into ſeven books, in each of which the epigrams are diſpoſed in an alphabetical order according to their ſubjects. This is the *Anthologia* come down to us. He retrenched abundance of obſcene epigrams, for which ſome of the learned are not a little angry with him.

There are a great many epigrams in this collection that abound with wit and ſenſe, but more of a different character.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Latin Poets.

POETRY, as well as the other polite arts, did not find acceſs till very late amongſt the Romans, ſolely engroſſed as they were during more than five hundred years by military views and expeditions, and void of taſte for every thing called literature. By a new kind of victory, Greece, when conquered and reduced, ſubdued the victors in her turn, and exerciſed over them a power the more glorious, as it was the reſult of their will, and was founded upon a ſuperiority of knowledge and ſcience, no ſooner known than homaged. That learned and polite nation, which was under the neceſſity of a ſtrict commerce with the Romans, by degrees made them loſe that air of rudeneſs and ruſticity they ſtill retained from their antient origin, and inſpired them with a taſte for the arts that humaniſe, improve, and adorn ſociety.

Græcia

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
Intulit * agreſti Latio. Sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, & grave virus
Munditiæ pepulêre. *Horat. Epiſt.* 1. *l.* 2.
Greece conquer'd won her martial victors hearts,
And poliſh'd ruſtic Latium with her arts:
The rude hoarſe ſtrain expir'd of Saturn's days,
And the muſe ſoften'd and refin'd our lays.

This happy change began by poetry, whoſe principal view is to pleaſe, and whoſe charms, full of ſweetneſs and delight, impart a taſte for themſelves ſooneſt and with moſt eaſe. It was however very groſs and unpoliſhed in its beginning at Rome; and had its birth in the theatre, or at leaſt began there to aſſume a more graceful and elegant air. It made its firſt eſſays in comedy, tragedy, and ſatyr, which it carried ſlowly and by inſenſible acquiſitions to a great degree of perfection.

When the Romans had been almoſt four hundred years without any dramatic games, chance and debauch introduced the † Feſcennine verſes into one of their feaſts, which ſerved them inſtead of theatrical pieces near an hundred and twenty years. Theſe verſes were rude and almoſt void of numbers, as they were extemporaneous, and made by a ruſtic illiterate people, who knew no other maſters but mirth and wine. They conſiſted of groſs raillery, attended with poſtures and dances:

Feſcennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Verſibus alternis opprobria ruſtica fudit.
Horat. Epiſt. 1. *l.* 2.
Feſcennia's licenſe thus found out, the ſwains
Vented their taunts in rude alternate ſtrains.

* *Horace here gives us the time when poetry began to improve among the Latins; for it was known in Italy very early,* numerus Saturnius; *and, as Horace tells us again in the ſame epiſtle, at Rome in the time of Numa:* Saliare Numæ carmen.

† *Theſe verſes were ſo called from Feſcennia, a city of Etruria, from whence they were brought to Rome.*

Liv. l. 7. n. 2. To theſe looſer and irregular verſes ſoon ſucceeded a chaſter kind of poetry, which, though it alſo abounded with pleaſant ridicule, had nothing vicioufly indecent in it. This poem appeared under the name of Satyr, *(Satura)* from its variety, and had regular meaſures, that is to ſay, regular muſic and dances: but obſcene poſtures were baniſhed from it. Theſe ſatyrs were innocent farces, in which the ſpectators and actors were indifferently made the objects of mirth.

Liv. ibid. Livius Andronicus found things in this ſtate, when he conceived the deſign of making comedies and tragedies in imitation of the Greeks. Other poets followed his example, copying after the ſame originals: of theſe were Nævius, Ennius, Cæcilius, Pacuvius, Accius, and Plautus. Theſe ſeven poets, of whom I am going to ſpeak, lived almoſt all of them at the ſame time in the ſpace of ſixty years.

In what I propoſe to ſay here of the Latin poets, I ſhall not follow the order of the ſubject, as I have done in ſpeaking of the Greek poets; but the order of time, which ſeemed to me the moſt proper for ſhewing the birth, progreſs, perfection, and decline of the Latin poetry.

I ſhall divide the whole time into three different ages. The firſt will conſiſt of about two hundred years, during which Latin poetry had its birth, was improved, and gradually acquired ſtrength. Its ſecond age will conſiſt of about an hundred years, from Julius Cæſar to the middle of Tiberius's reign, in which it attained its higheſt degree of perfection. The third age will contain the ſubſequent years, wherein, by a ſufficiently rapid decline, it fell from that flouriſhing ſtate, and at length entirely degenerated from its antient reputation.

SECT.

SECT. I.

First age of Latin poetry.

LIVIUS ANDRONICUS.

THE poet Andronicus took the prænomen of Livius, becauſe he had been ſet at liberty by M. Livius Salinator, whoſe daughters he had inſtructed. Euſeb. in Chron.

He repreſented his firſt tragedy a year before the birth of Ennius, the firſt year after the firſt Punic war, and the 514th of Rome, in the conſulſhip of C. Claudius Cento and M. Sempronius Tuditanus; about an hundred and ſixty years after the death of Sophocles and Euripides, fifty after that of Menander, and two hundred and twenty before that of Virgil. A. M. 3764. Cic. in Brut. n. 72. Aul. Gell. l. 17. c. 21.

CN. NÆVIUS.

NÆVIUS, according to Varro, had ſerved in the firſt Punic war. Encouraged by the example of Andronicus, he trod in his ſteps, and, five years after him, began to give the public theatrical pieces: theſe were comedies. He drew upon himſelf the hatred of the nobility, and eſpecially of one Metellus; which obliged him to quit Rome. He retired to Utica, where he died. He had compoſed the hiſtory of the firſt Punic war in verſe. A. M. 3769. Aul. Gell. ibid. Euſeb. in Chron.

Q. ENNIUS.

He was born the 514th or 515th year of Rome, at Rudiæ a city of Calabria, and lived to the age of forty in Sardinia. It was there he came acquainted with Cato the Cenſor, who learnt the Greek language of him at a very advanced age, and afterwards carried him to Rome, as M. Fulvius Nobilior afterwards did to Ætolia. The ſon of this Nobilior cauſed the freedom of Rome to be granted A. M. 3764. Aurel. Vic. de Vir. Illuſt. c. 47. 1 Tuſc. n. 3.

him, which in thoſe times was a very conſiderable honour. He had compoſed the annals of Rome in heroic verſe, and was at the twelfth book of that work in his ſixty-ſeventh year. He had alſo celebrated the victories of the firſt Scipio Africanus, with whom he had contracted a * particular friendſhip, and who always treated him with the higheſt marks of eſteem and conſideration. Some even believe that he gave his image a place in the tomb of the Scipio's. He died in the ſeventieth year of his age.

Aul. Gel. l. 17. c. 21.

Scipio was well aſſured, that the memory of his great actions would ſubſiſt as long as Rome, and as Africa continued in ſubjection to Italy: † but he alſo believed, that the writings of Ennius were highly capable of augmenting their ſplendor, and perpetuating their remembrance: a perſon, whoſe glorious victories merited rather an Homer to celebrate them, than a poet, whoſe ſtile did but ill ſuit the grandeur of his actions!

It is eaſy to conceive that the Latin poetry, in its infancy, and weak at the time we are ſpeaking of, could not have much beauty and ornament. It ſometimes ſhewed force and genius, but without elegance and grace, and with great inequality. This Quintilian, where he draws Ennius's character, expreſſes by an admirable compariſon: *Ennium ſicut ſacros vetuſtate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia & antiqua robora jam non tantam habent ſpeciem, quantam religionem.* "Let us reverence Ennius, ſays he,

* Carus fuit Africano ſuperiori noſter Ennius. Itaque etiam in ſepulcro Scipionum putatur is eſſe conſtitutus. *Cic. pro Arch. poet.* n. 22.

† Non incendia Carthaginis impiæ
Ejus, qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides. *Hor. Od. 8. l. 4.*

Not impious Carthage burnt does more,
Than the Calabrian muſe, proclaim
The hero's glory, who of yore
From conquer'd Afric took his name.

"as

"as we do thoſe groves which time hath conſe-
" crated and made venerable, and of which the
" great and antient oaks do not ſtrike us ſo much
" with their beauty, as with a kind of religious
" veneration."

Cicero, in his treatiſe upon old age, relates a fact which ought to do Ennius's memory abundance of honour. He ſays, * " that poet, at the age of ſe-
" venty, carried the two loads, which are commonly
" thought the hardeſt to bear, poverty and old age,
" not only with ſuch conſtancy but gaiety, that it
" might almoſt be ſaid he took delight in them."

CÆCILIUS. PACUVIUS.

Theſe two poets lived in the time of Ennius, both however younger than him. The firſt, according to ſome, was a native of Milan, a comic poet, and at firſt lived with Ennius. Pacuvius, Ennius's nephew, was of Brunduſium. He profeſſed both poetry and painting, which have always been deemed ſiſter-arts; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly in tragic poetry. Though † they lived in the time of Lælius and Scipio, that is to ſay at a time to which the purity of language, as well as manners, ſeem ſingularly attached, their diction carries no air of ſo happy an age. Euſeb. in Chron.

Lælius, however, one of the perſons whom Cicero introduces in his dialogue upon friendſhip ‡, in ſpeaking of Pacuvius as of his particular friend,

* Annos ſeptuaginta natus, (tot enim vixit Ennius) ita ferebat duo, quæ maxima putantur onera, paupertatem & ſenectutem, ut eis penè delectari videretur. *De Senect.* n. 14.

† Mitto C. Lælium, P. Scipionem. Ætatis illius iſta fuit laus, tanquàm innocentiæ, ſic Latine loquendi. Non omnium tamen: nam illorum æquales Cæcilium & Pacuvium male locutos videmus. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 258.

‡ Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hoſpitis mei & amici M. Pacuvii nova fabula, cum ignorante rege, uter eſſet Oreſtes, Pylades Oreſtem ſe eſſe diceret, ut pro illo necaretur; Oreſtes autem, ita ut erat, Oreſtem ſe eſſe perſeveraret. Stantes plaudebant in re ficta; quid arbitremur in vera facturos fuiſſe? *De amicit.* n. 24.

ſays, that the people received one of his plays called *Oreſtes* with uncommon applauſe, eſpecially the ſcene where Pylades declares himſelf to be Oreſtes to the king, in order to ſave his friend's life; and the latter affirms himſelf to be the true Oreſtes. It is not impoſſible but that the beauty and ſpirit of the ſentiments might on this occaſion make the audience forget the want of juſtneſs and delicacy of expreſſions.

ATTIUS.

A. M. 3864. Euſeb. in Chron.

L. Attius or *Accius*, for his name is written both ways, was the ſon of a freedman. He exhibited ſome tragedies in the time of Pacuvius, though almoſt fifty years younger than him. We are told that ſome of them were performed in the edileſhip of the celebrated P. Licinius Craſſus Mucianus, in whoſe perſon five of the greateſt advantages that could be poſſeſſed, are ſaid to have been united: * great riches, illuſtrious birth, ſupreme eloquence, profound knowledge of the law, with the office of great pontiff: [*Pontifex maximus.*]

Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 1.

Val. Max. l. 8. c. 14.

This poet lived in great friendſhip with D. Junius Brutus, who firſt carried the Roman arms in Spain as far as the ocean. Accius compoſed verſes in honour of him, with which that general adorned the porch of a temple that he built with the ſpoils taken from the enemy.

PLAUTUS.

Aul. Gell. l. 3. c. 3.

PLAUTUS *(M. Accius)* was of Salinæ, a city of Umbria in Italy (in Romagnia.) He acquired great reputation at Rome by his comedies, at the ſame time with the three laſt poets mentioned above.

Aulus Gellius tells us, after Varro, that Plautus applied himſelf to merchandiſe, and that, having loſt all he had in it, he was obliged, for the means

* Ditiſſimus, nobiliſſimus, eloquentiſſimus, juris-conſultiſſimus, Pontifex maximus.

of

of life to ſerve a baker, in whoſe houſe he turned a corn-mill.

Of all the poets who appeared before him, only ſome fragments remain. Plautus has been more fortunate, nineteen of whoſe comedie have eſcaped the injuries of time, and come down almoſt entire to us. It is very probable, that his works preſerved themſelves better than others, becauſe, as they were more agreeable to the public, the demand for them was greater and more permanent. They were not only acted in the time of Auguſtus, but from a paſſage in Arnobius it appears, that they continued to be played in the reign of Dioclefian, three hundred years after the birth of JESUS CHRIST. Arnob. l. 7.

Various judgments have been paſſed on this poet. His elocution ſeems to be generally approved, without doubt in regard to the purity, propriety, energy, abundance, and even elegance of his ſtile. Varro ſays, that, if the muſes were to ſpeak Latin, they would borrow the language of Plautus: *Licet Varro dicat muſas—Plautino ſermone locturas fuiſſe, ſi Latinè loqui vellent.* Quintil. l. 10. c. 1. Such a praiſe makes no exceptions, and leaves us nothing to deſire. Aulus Gellius ſpeaks of him no leſs to his advantage: *Plautus, homo linguæ atque elegantiæ in verbis Latinæ princeps.* Aul. Gell. l. 7. c. 17.

Horace, who was undoubtedly a good judge in this point, does not ſeem ſo favourable to Plautus. The whole paſſage is as follows:

At noſtri proavi Plautinos & numeros, &
Laudavere ſales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam ſtultè, mirati; ſi modo ego & vos
Scimus inurbanum lepido ſeponere dicto,
Legitimumque ſonum digito callemus & aure.
Horat. in Art. Poet.

"Our anceſtors, ſaid he to the Piſo's, practiſed "and admired the verſes and raillery of Plautus "with too much indulgence, not to call it ſtupidity; "if it be true, that either you or I know how to

"diſtinguiſh delicate from groſs raillery, and "have ears to judge aright of the numbers and "harmony of verſe." This criticiſm ſeems the more againſt Plautus, as it argues, that Horace was not alone in his opinion, and that the court of Auguſtus had no greater taſte than him, either for the verſification or pleaſantries of that poet.

Horace's cenſure falls upon two articles; the numbers and harmony of his verſes, *numeros*; and his raillery, *ſales*. For my part, I believe it indiſpenſably right to adopt his judgment in a great meaſure. But it is not impoſſible that Horace, offended at the unjuſt preference given by his age to the antient Latin poets againſt thoſe of their own times, may have been a little too exceſſive in his criticiſms upon ſome occaſions, and on this in particular.

It is certain that Plautus was not exact in his verſes, which for that reaſon he calls *numeros innumeros*, numbers without number, in the epitaph he made for himſelf. He did not confine himſelf to obſerving the ſame meaſure, and has jumbled ſo many different kinds of verſe together, that the moſt learned find it difficult to diſtinguiſh them. It is no leſs certain that he has flat, low, and often extravagant pleaſantries; but at the ſame time he has ſuch as are fine and delicate. Cicero* for this reaſon, who was no bad judge of what the antients called *Urbanity*, propoſes him as a model for raillery.

Theſe faults of Plautus therefore do not hinder his being an excellent comic poet. They are very happily atoned for by many fine qualities, which may not only make him equal, but perhaps ſuperior to Terence. This is Madam † Dacier's judg-

* Duplex omnino eſt jocandi genus: unum illiberale, petulans, flagitioſum, obſcœnum; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingenioſum, facetum; quo genere non modò Plautus noſter, & Atticorum antiqua comœdia, ſed etiam philoſophorum Socraticorum libri ſunt referti. *Lib.* 1. *de Offic.* n. 104.

† *Preface to the tranſlation of three comedies of Plautus.*

ment,

ment, (then Mademoiſelle Le Fevre) in her compariſon of theſe two poets.

"Terence, ſays ſhe, has undoubtedly moſt art, "but the other moſt wit: Terence makes more be "ſaid than done, Plautus more done than ſaid; "which latter is the true character of comedy, "that conſiſts much more in action than diſcourſe. "This buſy vivacity ſeems to include a farther "conſiderable advantage on the ſide of Plautus: "that is, his intrigues are always adapted to the "character of his actor, whilſt his incidents are "well varied, and are never without ſomething that "ſurpriſes agreeably; whereas the ſtage ſeems "ſometimes to ſtand ſtill in Terence, in whom the "vivacity of the action, and the incidents and in-"trigues that form the plot, are manifeſtly defec-"tive." This is Cæſar's reproach of him in ſome verſes, which I ſhall repeat, when I come to ſpeak of Terence.

To give the reader ſome idea of the ſtile, latinity, and antiquated language of Plautus, I ſhall tranſcribe in this place the beginning of the prologue of Amphitryon, one of his fineſt plays. It is ſpoken by Mercury:

Ut vos in voſtris voltis mercimoniis
Emundis vendundiſque me lætum lucris
Afficere, atque adjuvare in rebus omnibus:
Et ut res rationeſque veſtrorum omnium
Bene expedire voltis peregreque & domi,
Bonoque atque amplo auctare perpetuo lucro
Quaſque incœpiſtis res, quaſque incœptabitis:
Et uti bonis vos voſtroſque omnes nuntiis
Me efficere voltis; ea afferam, eaque ut nuntiem,
Quæ maximè in rem voſtram communem ſient:
(Nam vos quidem id jam ſcitis conceſſum & datum
Mi eſſe ab diis aliis, nuntiis præſim & lucro:)
Hæc ut me vultis approbare, annitier
Lucrum ut perenne vobis ſemper ſuppetat:

Ita

Ita huic facietis fabulæ ſilentium,
Itáque æqui & juſti hic eritis omnes arbitri.

To underſtand theſe verſes, we muſt remember, that Mercury was the god of merchants, and the meſſenger of the gods.

" As you deſire me to be propitious to you in " your bargains and ſales; as you deſire to proſper " in your affairs at home and abroad, and to ſee " a conſiderable profit continually augment your " preſent and future fortunes and undertakings; " as you deſire that I ſhould be the bearer of good " news to yourſelves and your families, and bring " you ſuch advices as are moſt for the benefit of " your commonwealth, (for you know that by the " conſent of the other gods I preſide over news " and gain;) as you deſire that I ſhould grant you " all theſe things, and that your gains may be as " laſting as your occaſions; ſo you will now afford " this play your favourable attention, and ſhew your- " ſelves juſt and equitable in your judgment of it."

We often meet with fine maxims in Plautus for the conduct of life, and regulation of manners; of which I ſhall give one example from the play juſt cited. It is a ſpeech of Alcmena's to her huſband Amphitryon, which in a few lines includes all the duties of a wife and virtuous wife:

Non ego illam mihi dotem duco eſſe quæ dos dicitur:
Sed pudicitiam, & pudorem, & ſedatam cupidinem,
Deûm metum, parentum amorem, & cognatûm concordiam:
Tibi morigera, atque ut munifica ſim bonis, proſim probis.
Act 2. ſcene 2.

" I do not eſteem that a dowry, which is com- " monly called ſo; but honour, modeſty, deſires " ſubjected to reaſon, the fear of the gods, the love " of our parents, unity with our relations, obe- " dience

" dience to you, munificence to the deſerving, and " to be uſeful to the juſt."

But for ſome paſſages of this kind, how many has he that are contrary to decency and purity of manners! It is great pity that this reproach ſhould extend almoſt generally to the beſt poets of the pagan world. What Quintilian ſays of certain dangerous poems, may be well applied on this occaſion: That youth ſhould, if poſſible, be kept entirely ignorant of them, or at leaſt that they ſhould be reſerved for riper years, and a time of life leſs liable to corruption: *Amoveantur, ſi fieri poteſt; ſi minùs, certe ad firmius ætatis robur reſerventur—cum mores in tuto fuerint.* L. 1. c. 8.

TERENCE.

TERENCE was born at Carthage after the ſecond Punic war, in the 516th year of Rome. He was a ſlave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman ſenator, who, upon account of his wit, not only cauſed him to be educated with great care, but gave him his liberty whilſt very young. It was this ſenator from whom our poet took the name of Terence; ſuch as were made free uſually aſſuming the names of the maſters that ſet them at liberty. A. M. 3818. Suet. in vit. Terent.

He was much beloved and eſteemed by the principal perſons of Rome, and lived in particular intimacy with Lælius and Scipio Africanus, who took and demoliſhed Numantia. The latter was eleven years younger than him.

Six of Terence's comedies are come down to us. When he ſold the firſt to the ediles, it was thought proper that he ſhould read it beforehand to Cæcilius, a comic poet as well as himſelf, and in great eſteem at Rome, when Terence firſt appeared there. Accordingly he went to his houſe, and found him at table. He was brought in, and, as he was very ill dreſſed, a ſtool was given him near Cæcilius's bed, where he ſat down and began to read. He had no ſooner

read

read ſome few verſes, than Cæcilius invited him to ſupper, and placed him at table near himſelf. Judgments are not always to be formed of men by their outſides. A bad dreſs may often cover the moſt excellent talents.

The Eunuch, one of the ſix comedies of Terence, was received with ſuch applauſe, that it was acted twice the ſame day, morning and evening, which perhaps had never happened to any play before; and a much better price was given for it than had ever been paid for any comedy till then: for Terence had eight thouſand ſeſterces, that is to ſay, about fifty pounds.

It was publicly enough reported, that Scipio and Lælius aſſiſted him in the compoſition of his plays, which rumour he augmented himſelf by denying it but faintly, as he does in the prologue to *the Adelphi*, the laſt of his comedies: *As to what thoſe envious perſons ſay, that he is aſſiſted in compoſing his works by ſome illuſtrious perſons, he is ſo far from taking that as the offence they intended it, that he conceives it the higheſt praiſe which could be given him, as it is a proof, that he has the honour to pleaſe thoſe who pleaſe this audience and the whole Roman people; and who in peace, in war, and on all occaſions, have rendered the commonwealth in general, and every one in particular, the higheſt and moſt important ſervices, without being either more diſtant or more haughty upon that account.*

We may believe, however, that he only denied this aſſiſtance ſo negligently, to make his court to Lælius and Scipio, to whom he knew ſuch a conduct would not be diſagreeable. That report notwithſtanding, ſays Suetonius in the life of Terence aſcribed to him, augmented continually, and is come down to our times.

The poet Valgius, who was Horace's cotemporary, ſays poſitively in ſpeaking of Terence's comedies;

He

Hæ quæ vocantur fabulæ, cujus ſunt?
*Non has, qui jura populis * recenſens dabat,*
Honore ſummo affectus fecit fabulas?

" And pray, whoſe are theſe ſame comedies? Are " they not his, who, after having acquired the " higheſt glory, gave laws, and governed the peo- " ple with power and authority?"

Whether Terence was for putting an end to the reproach of publiſhing the works of others as his own, or had formed the deſign of going to learn the cuſtoms and manners of the Greeks perfectly, in order to repreſent them the better in his plays; after having compoſed the ſix comedies ſtill extant, and before he was thirty-five years old, he quitted Rome, where he was never ſeen more.

Some ſay that he died at ſea in his return from Greece, from whence he brought with him an hundred and eight plays, which he had tranſlated from Menander. Others aſſure us, that he died at the city of Stymphalus in Arcadia, in the conſulſhip of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, of a diſeaſe occaſioned by his grief for having loſt the comedies he had tranſlated, and thoſe he had made himſelf.

Terence had only one daughter, who, after his death, was married to a Roman knight, and to whom he left an houſe and garden of twenty acres upon the Appian way.

Cicero, in a copy of verſes intitled Λειμών, which ſignifies *a meadow*, ſays of Terence:

Tu quoque, qui ſolus lecto ſermone, Terenti,
Converſum expreſſumque Latina voce Menandrum
In medio populi ſedatis vocibus effers,
Quidquid come loquens, atque omnia dulcia linquens.

That is, *And you, Terence, who alone tranſlate Menander with ſo much eloquence, and make him ſpeak the*

* *I don't know what this word means here, and believe it ſome error crept into the paſſage.*

language

language of the Romans ſo happily in your judicious choice of whatever is ſweeteſt and moſt delicate in it. This teſtimony is for the honour of Terence, but the verſes that expreſs it not much for Cicero's.

I now proceed to thoſe of Cæſar, which I mentioned before. That great man, who wrote with ſo much force and accuracy, and had himſelf compoſed a Greek tragedy, called Œdipus, ſays, addreſſing himſelf to Terence:

Tu quoque, tu in ſummis, ô dimidiate Menander,
Poneris, & meritò, puri ſermonis amator.
Lenibus atque utinam ſcriptis adjuncta foret vis
Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore
Cum Græcis, neque in hac deſpectus parte jaceres:
Unum hoc maceror, & doleo tibi deeſſe, Terenti.

" Thou alſo, Menander's half, art ranked in the " number of the greateſt poets, and deſervedly, for " the purity of thy ſtile. And I wiſh thy ſweet " writings had in them the comic force and ſpirit, " that thy merit might have ranked thee with the " Greeks, and that thou wer't not ſo much below " them in that point! But this, Terence, is un- " happily what you want, and I much regret."

Terence's great talent conſiſts in the inimitable art of expreſſing the manners, and copying nature with ſo genuine and unſtudied a ſimplicity, that every body believes himſelf capable of writing in the ſame manner; and at the ſame time with ſuch elegance and ingenuity, as no-body has ever been able to come up to. Hence it is from this talent, that is to ſay, this wonderful art diffuſed throughout the comedies of Terence, which charms and tranſports without notice, or any glitter of ornaments, that Horace characteriſes this poet:

Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte
[*Dicitur.*] Ep. 1. l. 2.

Terence,

Terence, with an extreme purity of ſpeech and a ſimple and natural ſtile, unites all the graces and delicacy of which his language was ſuſceptible; and of all the Latin authors has come the neareſt to Atticiſm, that is to ſay whatever is fineſt, moſt exquiſite, and moſt perfect amongſt the Greeks. * Quintilian, in ſpeaking of Terence, of whom he only ſays, that his writings were highly elegant, obſerves, that the Roman language rendered but very imperfectly that refinement of taſte, that inimitable grace, peculiar to the Greeks, and even to be found only in the Attic dialect: *Vix levem conſequimur umbram, adeo ut mihi ſermo ipſe Romanus non recipere videatur illam ſolis conceſſam Atticis venerem, quando eam ne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ obtinuerint.* It is pity that the ſubject of his comedies makes them dangerous to youth; upon which I have treated at large in my books upon ſtudying polite learning.

LUCILIUS.

Lucilius, *(Caius Lucilius)* a Roman knight, was born at Sueſſa, a town of Campania, in the 158th olympiad, and the 605th year of Rome, when Pacuvius the tragic poet flouriſhed. He is ſaid to have carried arms under the ſecond Scipio Africanus at the ſiege of Numantia: but, as he was then but fifteen years old, this circumſtance is dubious. A. M. 3856. Euſeb. in Chron. Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 9.

He had a great ſhare in that famous general's friendſhip, as well as in that of Lælius. He was their companion in the innocent ſports and amuſements, to which they did not diſdain to deſcend, and in which thoſe great men, at their hours of leiſure, endeavoured to unbend themſelves after their ſerious and important occupations: An admirable ſimplicity in perſons of their rank and gravity!

* Terentii ſcripta ſunt in hoc genere elegantiſſima.

Quin

Quin ubi ſe à vulgo & ſcena in ſecreta remôrant
Virtus Scipiadæ, & mitis ſapientia Lælî,
Nugari cum illo, & diſciſcti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, ſoliti. *Horat. Sat.* 1. *l.* 2.

With him, retir'd from crowds and ſtate at home,
Wiſe gentle Lælius, and the pride of Rome,
Scipio, 'twixt play and trifle, liv'd in jeſt,
Till herbs, the frugal meal, and roots were dreſt.

Lucilius paſſes for the inventor of ſatire, becauſe he gave it its laſt form, the ſame in which Horace, Perſius, and Juvenal have followed him. Ennius however had ſet him the example before, as Horace himſelf confeſſes by theſe verſes, in which he compares Lucilius to Ennius:

——————— *Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,*
Comis & urbanus; fuerit limatior idem,
Quam rudis & Græcis intacti carminis auctor.

But the * ſatires of Ennius, tho' like thoſe of Lucilius and Horace in other reſpects, differed from them in form, as they conſiſted of ſeveral different kinds of verſe.

The new form which Lucilius gave ſatire, as I have ſaid before, made † Horace and Quintilian conſider him as the inventor of that poem; to which title he has a juſt claim.

There was another ‡ kind of ſatire, which derived itſelf alſo from the antient. It is called the *Varronian* or *Menippean* ſatire; becauſe Varro, the moſt

* Olim carmen, quod ex variis poematibus conſtabat, SATIRA dicebatur, quale ſcripſerunt Pacuvius & Ennius. *Diomed. Grammat.* Satira, cibi genus, ex variis rebus conditum. *Feſtus.*

† ——————— Quid cum eſt Lucilius auſus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem.
Sat. 1. *l.* 2.
Satyra quidem tota noſtra eſt, in qua primus inſignem laudem adeptus eſt Lucilius. *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

‡ Alterum illud eſt & prius Satyræ genus, quod non ſola carminum varietate condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditiſſimus. *Quint. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

learned

learned of the Romans was its author, imitating in that work the Cynic philoſopher Menippus of Gadara. This ſpecies of ſatire was not only compoſed of ſeveral kinds of verſes, but Varro introduced proſe into it, in which there was beſides a mixture of Greek and Latin. The work of Petronius, that of Seneca upon the death of Claudius, and of Boetius upon the conſolation of philoſophy, are all ſatires of the ſame kind with this of Varro. But to return to my ſubject.

Lucilius compoſed thirty books of ſatires, in which he cenſured many perſons of bad lives by name and in a very offenſive manner, as Horace informs us, regarding only virtue, and the lovers of virtue:

Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributim,
Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus amicis.
Sat. 1. l. 2.

His pen made the conſcious Bad tremble, as if he had purſued them ſword in hand:

Enſe velut ſtricto, quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens eſt
Criminibus, tacita ſudant præcordia culpa.
Juven. Sat. 1.

Lucilius * uſed to ſay that he deſired his readers might neither be very ignorant nor very learned. The one ſaw too little, and the other too much. The one did not know what was good, and conſequently no juſtice was to be expected from them; and what was imperfect could not be concealed from the penetration of the others.

It is not probable that he died at forty-ſix years of age, as ſome aſſure us. Horace calls him old

* Caius Lucilius, homo doctus & perurbanus, dicere ſolebat, ea quæ ſcriberet neque ab indoctiſſimis, neque ab doctiſſimis legi velle: quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortaſſe quam de ſe ipſe. *De Orat. l. 2. n. 25.*

man, where he ſays Lucilius confided all his ſecrets, and whatever had happened to him in life, to his books, as to faithful friends*:

Ille velut fidis arcana ſodalibus olim
Credebat libris: neque, ſi malè geſſerat uſquam,
Decurrens aliò, neque ſi bene. Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti deſcripta tabella
Vita ſenis. Sat. 1. l. 2.

Pompey was grandſon, or rather grand-nephew, to Lucilius, by the mother's ſide.

Of all his works, only ſome fragments of his ſatires are come down to us.

The reputation of this poet was very great during his life, and ſubſiſted long after his death to ſuch an height, that, in * Quintilian's time, he continued to have admirers ſo zealous for it, as to prefer him not only to all who had written in the ſame way, but to all the poets of antiquity in general.

Sat. 4. l. 1. Horace judged very differently of him. He repreſents him to us indeed as a poet of a fine taſte, and delicate in his raillery, *facetus, emunctæ naris:* but hard and ſtiff in his compoſitions; not being able to take the pains neceſſary in writing, that is to ſay, in writing well; for to write much was his great fault. He was highly ſatisfied with himſelf, and believed he had done wonders, when he had dictated two hundred verſes in leſs time than one could throw them together on paper. In a word, Horace compares him to a river that with a great deal of mud carries however a precious ſand along with it in its current.

Sat. 10. l. 1. The judgment Horace paſſed upon Lucilius, occaſioned great clamour at Rome. The admirers of the latter, inraged at his having preſumed to treat their hero in that manner, gave out, that Horace

* Lucilius quoſdam ita deditos ſibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non ejuſdem modo operis auctoribus, ſed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent. *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

had

had only diſpraiſed Lucilius out of envy, and with the view of ſetting himſelf above him. We ought not to be angry with them on account of thoſe complaints, how unjuſt ſoever they might be: for they acquired us an excellent ſatire, wherein Horace, in rendering Lucilius all the juſtice he deſerved, ſuſtains and confirms the judgment he had paſſed on him by the moſt ſolid proofs.

For Quintilian's honour, I am ſorry that a critic of his profound judgment and juſt taſte ſhould differ in opinion with Horace in this point. He cannot forgive him for having compared the writings of Lucilius to muddy waters, from whence however ſomething valuable might be extracted: * *For my part*, ſays he, *I find ſurpriſing erudition and a noble liberty in him, which gave his works poignancy with abundance of ſalt.* Horace allows him the laſt qualities, which did not prevent Lucilius from having abundance of vicious paſſages in him that ought either to have been amended, or retrenched. As to *erudition*, Quintilian differs directly in that reſpect from Cicero's opinion. For ſays the latter, ſpeaking of Lucilius: † *His works are light and frothy, and with exceeding pleaſantry have no great erudition.* To conclude, we can form at preſent no proper judgment of a poet, of whoſe works almoſt nothing is come down to us.

SECT. II.

Second age of Latin poetry.

THE interval, of which I am now to ſpeak, continued from the time of Julius Cæſar to the middle of Tiberius's reign, and included about an hundred years. It was always conſidered as the

* Nam & eruditio in eo mira, & libertas, atque inde acerbitas, & abundè ſalis. *Lib.* 10. *c.* 1.

† Et ſunt ſcripta illius [Lucilii] leviora, ut urbanitas ſumma appareat, doctrina mediocris. *Cic. de Fin. l.* 1. *n.* 7.

golden age of polite learning, during which a crowd of fine geniuſſes of every kind, poets, hiſtorians and orators, carried Rome's glory to its greateſt height. Literature had before made great efforts, and one may alſo ſay great progreſs: but it had not yet attained that degree of maturity which conſtitutes perfection in arts. Writings did not want good ſenſe, judgment, ſolidity, and force; but they had little art, leſs ornament, and no delicacy. A ſmall number of perſons of great talents, riſing up together in a ſpace of time of no great duration, on a ſudden and as if inſpried, by adding to the excellent qualities of their predeceſſors others which they had wanted, eſtabliſhed good taſte of every kind irrevocably and for evermore; ſo that as ſoon as the world began to loſe ſight of thoſe perfect models, every thing immediately began to decline and degenerate.

The happy beginnings, which we have related, prepared the way for the wonders that ſucceeded them; and as Rome derived her firſt notions of polite learning from Greece, ſo it was by her induſtrious perſeverance in ſtudying the Greek writers that the Romans attained perfection, The firſt poets, and eſpecially the Tragic and Comic, contented themſelves with tranſlating the works of the Greeks:

Tentavit quoque, rem ſi dignè vertere poſſet,
Et placuit ſibi. *Horat. Epiſt. 1. l. 2.*

Eſſay'd to make it ſpeak our tongue with grace,
And pleas'd themſelves.

They afterwards took a farther ſtep. They ventured to ſoar with their own wings, and compoſed originals entirely Roman:

Nil intentatum noſtri liquere poëtæ,
Nec minimum meruere decus, veſtigia Græca

Auſi

. Auſi deſerere, & celebrare domeſtica facta;
Vel qui Prætextas, vel qui docuere Togatas.
Id. de Art. Poet.

Our authors have attempted every way,
And well deſerve our praiſe, whoſe daring muſe
Diſdain'd to be beholden to the Greeks,
And found fit ſubjects for her verſe at home.
Roſcommon.

Though the dramatic poets did not entirely ſucceed in theſe attempts, Horace did in lyric poetry.

Rome, animated with a noble emulation, which aroſe from reading the Greek authors, and the eſteem ſhe had conceived for them, propoſed to herſelf to equal, and even, if poſſible, to ſurpaſs them: a very laudable and uſeful diſpute between nations, and equally for their honour!

Add to this firſt motive the admirable character of the perſons at that time in ſupreme authority at Rome; the eſteem for men of letters; the marks of diſtinction with which they were honoured; the ſolid rewards conferred on them; and the general reſpect paid to perſons of ſingular merit of every kind; a reſpect which almoſt roſe ſo high as to equal them with the greateſt and moſt powerful of the commonwealth. It has been the ſaying of all times, and cannot be too often repeated: * Emulation nouriſhes wit. The view of merit in others, united with a juſt admiration for their excellent works, and a ſecret regret from the ſenſe of our own inferiority, inſpire an ardor for glory, to which nothing is impoſſible. And it is from theſe generous efforts, excited and ſuſtained by the hopes of ſucceſs, that arts attain their final perfection.

This is what happened, eſpecially in the time of Auguſtus, in reſpect to poetry, hiſtory, and eloquence.

* Alit æmulatio ingenia, & nunc invidia, nunc admiratio, incitationem accendit; naturaque, quod ſummo ſtudio petitum eſt, aſcendit in ſummum. *Vell. Paterc. l.* 1, *c.* 7.

But poetry is our ſubject in this place. I ſhall relate in few words the hiſtory of the poets, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt during this glorious age of Rome. Terence, of whom I have ſpoken above, may in my opinion be included in this claſs, who, though he preceded them in time, does not give place to them in merit. He is the firſt of the Latin poets who ſeems in ſome meaſure to have ſet up the ſtandard of perfection, and to have inſpired others by his example with the deſire and hope of attaining it.

AFRANIUS: *(L. Afranius Quintianus.)*

AFRANIUS was much eſteemed by the antients. * He excelled in the comedies called *Togatæ* and † *Atellanæ*. Horace ſeems to compare him with Menander:

Dicitur Afrani toga conveniſſe Menandro.
In Art. Poet.

He was cotemporary with Terence, but much younger than him, and did not begin to grow in reputation till after his death. He ranked him above all other poets, and could not bear that any ſhould be compared with him, of thoſe evidently who had written in the ſame way:

Terentio non ſimilem dices quempiam. Fragm. Afran.

Quintil. ibid. He was highly conſidered for his poetical works, and no leſs condemned for the depravity of his manners.

LUCRETIUS.

A. M. 3908. LUCRETIUS, *(Titus Lucretius Carus)* was born according to the chronicle of Euſebius, in the ſecond

* Togatis excellit Afranius. *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

† *Theſe comedies were called* Atellanæ, *from Atella, a city of Campania, from whence they were brought to Rome; and* Togatæ, *becauſe they repreſented only Roman actions and perſons, implied by* Toga, *their peculiar habit.*

year

year of the 171ſt olympiad, twelve years after Cicero, in the conſulſhip of L. Licinius Craſſus and Q. Mutius Scævola, in the 658th year of Rome. A philtre, or love-potion, had been given him that made him mad. He had ſome lucid intervals from his phrenſy, during which he compoſed his ſix books *De rerum natura*, wherein he explains at large the doctrine of Epicurus, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its place. He inſcribed his poem to C. Memmius, who had the ſame maſter, and without doubt the ſame ſentiments, as himſelf.

The ſame chronicle of Euſebius informs us, that this work was corrected by Cicero after its author's death. Cicero ſpeaks of Lucretius only once, tho' he had often occaſion to mention him; and the paſſage were he does ſo, beſides being very obſcure, is variouſly read: *Lucretii poemata, ut ſcribis, lita ſunt* (others read *non ita ſunt*) *multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis.* Cic. ad Quint. Fr. Ep. 11. l. 2.

No man ever denied Providence more boldly, or treated the Divinity with more inſolence and preſumption, than this poet. He introduces his ſubject with this preface, in praiſe of Epicurus: "Whilſt "mankind, ſays he, groaned in ſhameful ſubjec- "tion to the oppreſſive yoke of imperious religion, "which declared itſelf deſcended from heaven, and "made the whole earth tremble at the frowns and "horrors of its aſpect; a mortal native of Greece "firſt boldly ventured to expoſe its falſhood to the "eyes of men, and to declare againſt it, without "the ſame of the gods, the fear of thunders, or "the rumbling noiſe of threatening ſkies, being "able to awe and divert him. All thoſe objects, "on the contrary, only ſerve to exalt his courage, "and confirm him in the deſign of being the firſt "to force the barriers of nature, and to penetrate "into her moſt myſterious ſecrets.

Humana ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret
In terris oppreſſa gravi ſub relligione;
Quæ caput à cœli regionibus oſtendebat,
Horribili ſuper aſpectu mortalibus inſtans:
Primùm Graius homo mortales tollere contrà
Eſt oculos auſus, primuſque obſiſtere contrà.
Quem nec fama deûm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compreſſit cœlum: ſed eo magis acrem
Incitat virtutem animi, confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum clauſtra cupiret.

Lucretius, throughout his whole work, lays down as a principle, that the gods neither regard nor interfere in any thing; and takes it upon him to explain the effects of nature, and the formation and conſervation of the world, by the ſole motion of atoms, and to refute thoſe, who acknowledge the power and wiſdom of a Divinity as the firſt cauſe of all things. The reader will be better acquainted with his opinions, when I come to explain thoſe of his maſter Epicurus.

This poet has abundance of genius, force, and ſublimity: but his verſes are ſo very remote from the ſweetneſs and harmony of Virgil's, that one would believe he had lived ages before him.

CATULLUS.

A. M. 3916. CATULLUS (*Caius* or *Quintus Valerius Catullus*) was born at Verona in the 666th year of Rome. The delicacy of his verſes acquired him the friendſhip and eſteem of the men of learning and wit, of whom there were then great numbers at Rome.

He wrote two ſatirical epigrams againſt Cæſar, in one of which * he ſpeaks of him with an air of haughtineſs and contempt, that Quintilian juſtly treats as extravagance:

* Negat ſe magni facere aliquis poetarum *utrum Cæſar ater an albus homo ſit*: inſania. *Quintil. l.* 11. *c.* 1.

Nil

Nil nimium, Cæſar, ſtudeo tibi velle placere;
Nec ſcire utrum ſis ater an albus homo.

To pleaſe you, Cæſar, is not much my care;
Nor to know whether you are black or fair.

Theſe verſes, as diſreſpectful as they were, only ſerved the perſon offended, as an occaſion of diſtinguiſhing his moderation. Cæſar did not diſſemble his diſpleaſure, but contented himſelf with obliging the poet to aſk his pardon, and invited him to ſupper the ſame evening.

An elegant ſimplicity, and natural graces, form the character of Catullus. Happy, if he had not often diſgraced that amiable delicacy by his Cynic immodeſty.

LABERIUS: *(Decimus.)*

LABERIUS, a Roman knight, ſucceeded admira- A. M.
bly in compoſing mimes or farces. At Rome, a man 3952.
of birth did not diſgrace himſelf by writing poetic pieces for the ſtage, but could not act them without degrading himſelf. Notwithſtanding this had long been an eſtabliſhed opinion, Julius Cæſar preſſed Laberius very earneſtly to act one of his pieces upon the ſtage, and, to induce him to comply, gave him a conſiderable ſum of money. The poet refuſed it a great while, but was at laſt obliged to yield. The * deſire of a prince, upon ſuch an occaſion, is a command. In the prologue to this farce, Laberius vents his grief moſt reſpectfully with regard to Cæſar, but at the ſame time in very pathetic terms. It is one of the fineſt fragments of antiquity, and I have inſerted it at length, with the tranſlation, in the firſt volume of the ſecond edition of my treatiſe upon ſtudy. Macrobius has

* Poteſtas, non ſolum ſi invitet, ſed &, ſi ſupplicet, cogit. *Macrob.*

Quod eſt potentiſſimum imperandi genus, rogabat qui jubere poterat. *Auſon.*

pre-

preſerved it with ſome other fragments of the ſame piece of poetry.

He informs us alſo that this Roman knight, out of his great regret to ſee his age diſhonoured in that manner, and to avenge himſelf by the only means in his power, malicioufly inſerted, in the farce we ſpeak of, ſeveral home ſtrokes againſt Cæſar. A ſervant beaten by his maſter cried out: *Help, Romans, we loſe our liberty.*

Porro, Quirites! Libertatem perdimus.

And a little after he added: *He muſt neceſſarily fear many, whom many fear.*

Neceſſe eſt multos timeri, quem multi timent.

The whole people knew Cæſar in thoſe ſtrokes, and caſt their eyes upon him. When the performance was over, Cæſar, as if to reinſtate him in the dignity of a Roman knight, from which he had departed through complaiſance for him, rewarded him with a ring, which might be conſidered as a new patent of nobility. Laberius went afterwards to take his place amongſt the knights; but they preſſed together in ſuch a manner, that there was no room for him.

SYRUS.

P. Syrus was a Syrian by nation, whence he took his ſurname of Syrus. From a ſlave at Rome, whither he was brought in his infancy, he became a freedman very ſoon, and was inſtructed with great diſtinction. He excelled in mimic poetry, in which he was Laberius's rival, and even ſurpaſſed him, in the judgment of Cæſar. But the preference he gave him was thought to be intended only to mortify Laberius, for his having thrown ſome malicious ſtrokes againſt him into his farce.

We

We have a work of Syrus's, which conſiſts of ſentences in Iambic verſe, diſpoſed alphabetically. Seneca the Elder repeats the opinion of Caſſius Severus, who preferred theſe ſentences before whatever is beſt in the tragic and comic poets. This is ſaying a great deal. Seneca the Younger conſidered them alſo as an excellent model.

Not long ſince a tranſlation of theſe ſentences, and a poem of Cornelius Severus, intitled * *Ætna*, which had never appeared before in French, have been publiſhed. We are much obliged to authors who endeavour to inrich our language with antient works, unknown and therefore new to it. † This tranſlator obſerves, that La Bruyere has ſcattered almoſt all the ſentences of P. Syrus throughout his characters, of which he gives us ſeveral examples like the following:

Fortuna uſu dat multa, mancipio nihil.
Levis eſt fortuna: cito repoſcit, quod dedit.

" Fortune gives nothing, and only lends for a
" time. To-morrow the fickle goddeſs reſumes,
" from her favourites, what now ſhe ſeems to give
" them for ever,

Mortem timere crudelius eſt, quam mori.

" Death comes but once, though it puts us in mind
" of it at every moment of our lives. It is much
" more grievous to apprehend, than to ſuffer it.

Eſt vita miſero longa, felici brevis.

* *This poem is written in hexameters, and is the ſecond in the Opuſcula aſcribed to Virgil, in the folio edition of Criſpinus,* Lugduni 1539, *which perhaps Mr. Rollin never ſaw. Domitius Calderinus the commentator tells us in the argument:* Hoc Virgilianum eſſe opus plerique ex authoribus teſtantur: & Seneca in epiſt. adeo ut Naſonem non ob aliam cauſam opus de Ætna dimiſiſſe affirmet, niſi propter Virgilium, quem jam ſcripſiſſe compertum habebat. Cornelius Severus etiam ob eandem cauſam deterritus traditur.

† M. Accarias *of* Serionne.

" Life

"Life is ſhort to thoſe who poſſeſs it in pleaſures "and enjoyments: it ſeems long only to ſuch as "languiſh in affliction."

POLLIO.

POLLIO *(C. Aſinius Pollio)* a perſon of conſular dignity, and a celebrated orator, had alſo compoſed tragedies in Latin, which were much eſteemed in his time. Horace ſpeaks of him more than once:

Paulum ſeveræ Muſa Tragœdiæ
Deſit theatris.———— Ode 1. l. 2.
————————*Pollio regum*
Facta canit pede ter percuſſo. Sat. 10. l. 2.

Virgil alſo mentions him with praiſe,

Pollio & ipſe facit nova carmina. Eclog. 3.

* He was the firſt who opened a library at Rome for the uſe of the public.

Auguſtus preſſing him to eſpouſe his party againſt Antony, he repreſented to him that the ſervices he had done and received from that competitor would not admit his entering into engagements againſt him: that therefore he was determined to continue neuter, well aſſured that he ſhould become the victor's prey.

The ſame prince, having, on another occaſion, wrote Feſcennine verſes againſt him, † *I ſhall take great care*, ſaid he, *not to anſwer. For it is not eaſy to ſcribble againſt a man who can proſcribe.* . .

VIRGIL.

A. M. 3934. An. U. C. 684. VIRGIL *(Publius Virgilius Maro)* was born in a village called Andes near Mantua, of very obſcure

* Aſinii Pollionis hoc Romæ inventum, qui primus, Bibliothecam dicando, ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit. *Plin.* l. 35. c. 1.

† At ego taceo. Non eſt enim facile in eum ſcribere, qui poteſt proſcribere.

parents,

parents, in the conſulſhip of Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Craſſus. Vit. Virg. incert. Auct.

He paſſed the firſt years of his life at Cremona, and at ſeventeen put on the *toga virilis* (the habit of manhood) on the ſame day that the poet Lucretius died.

After having made ſome ſtay at Milan, he removed to Naples, where he ſtudied the Greek and Roman literature with extreme application, and afterwards the mathematics and phyſic.

Several little poems are aſcribed to Virgil's youth, which ſeem unworthy of him.

Having been driven out of his houſe and a ſmall piece of land, which was his whole eſtate, by the diſtribution of the territory of Mantua and Cremona amongſt the veteran ſoldiers of Auguſtus, he came for the firſt time to Rome, and, by the favour of Pollio and Mæcenas, both patrons of learning and learned men, recovered his eſtate, and was again put into poſſeſſion of it. A. M. 3963. An. U. C. 713.

This occaſioned his firſt eclogue, and made him known to Auguſtus, of whom he had inſerted a fine praiſe in that poem, a precious monument of his gratitude. Thus his diſtreſs became in the conſequence the ſource of his good fortune. He finiſhed his Bucolics in three years: a work of extreme delicacy, and a ſpecimen of what was to be expected from a hand that knew ſo well how to unite the graces of nature with correctneſs and purity of ſtile. Horace gives us the character of theſe paſtorals in two words:

——————Molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ.

The ſoft and eaſy grace of rural ſtrains
The muſes, that delight in woods and plains,
Have giv'n to Virgil.

Every

Every body knows that in good latinity the word *facetus* is not only applicable to raillery and pleaſantry, but to every diſcourſe and work of wit, in which fine genius, delicacy and elegance are the prevailing characters.

Mæcenas, who had a great taſte for poetry, and had diſcerned all Virgil's merit in the proof he had lately given of it, would not ſuffer him to reſt till he had engaged him to undertake a new work more conſiderable than the former. It is making a noble uſe of one's influence, and rendering great ſervice to the public, to animate perſons of learning in this manner, who often, for want of ſuch inducements, remain inactive, and leave the greateſt talents unemployed and uſeleſs. It was therefore by the advice of Mæcenas that Virgil began the Georgics, to which he applied himſelf ſeven years. To enable himſelf to devote his whole attention to it, and to avoid every thing that might divert his thoughts, he retired to Naples. He tells us this circumſtance himſelf, at the end of the fourth book of the Georgics, and alſo gives us the date of the time when he finiſhed them, which was in the 724th year of Rome, when Auguſtus, on his return from Egypt, having advanced towards the Euphrates, by the terror of his arms, and the fame of the victories he had lately obtained, put the country into a conſternation, and obliged Tiridates and Phraates, who diſputed the Parthian empire with each other, to conclude a kind of accommodation:

A. M. 3967. An. U. C. 717.

Dio. Caſſ. l. 51.

Hæc ſuper arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam,
Et ſuper arboribus: Cæſar dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympi.
Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, ſtudiis florentem ignobilis oti.

* *Facetum* non tantùm circa ridicula opinor conſiſtere——Decoris hanc magis, & excultæ cujuſdam elegantiæ appellationem puto. *Quintil.* l. 6. c. 3.

The

The leiſure he enjoyed at that time at Naples was far from *ignoble* and obſcure, as he thought fit to call it in this place. His Georgics, which were the fruits of it, in reſpect to the diction, are the moſt finiſhed of all the works he has left us, and even of all the poems that were ever compoſed in Latin. This proceeded from his having ſufficient time to poliſh and put the laſt hand to them.

He retouched his works with an attention and accuracy not eaſily to be conceived. When the firſt fire of compoſing, in which every thing pleaſes, was over, he reviſed his productions, not with the complaiſance of an author and parent, but the inexorable ſeverity of a rigid critic, and almoſt an enemy. In the morning he compoſed a conſiderable number of verſes; and, returning to the examination of them, employed the reſt of the day in correcting and reducing them to a very ſmall number.

He uſed to compare himſelf to the Bear, who from groſs and unformed lumps, as her young ones are at their birth, gives them ſhape and proportion, by the pains ſhe takes in licking them. Thus excellent works are formed. It was by this diligence in correcting Virgil became the ſtandard of good poetry amongſt the Latins, and ſet the example of accurate, ſweet, and harmonious verſification. If we compare his verſes not only with thoſe of Cicero, but of Lucretius and Catullus, the latter will appear rough, unpoliſhed, harſh, antique, and, as I have ſaid before, we ſhall be tempted to believe them the verſes of ſome ages before Virgil.

We are told that Auguſtus, at his return from his military expeditions, believed he could not unbend himſelf better after his fatigues, than by hearing this admirable poem read, to which he devoted four days ſucceſſively. Virgil read him one book each day. He had a wonderful talent in making the beauty of his verſes ſenſible by a ſweet, articulate, and harmonious pronunciation. As ſoon as he

he ſeemed a little out of breath, Mæcenas took his place, and went on. Days paſſed in this manner are highly agreeable to a prince of fine taſte and wit: a pleaſure infinitely ſuperior to thoſe inſipid and frivolous diverſions, which almoſt engroſs the generality of men. But at the ſame time how admirable is the goodneſs of this Lord of the world, who thus familiariſes himſelf with a man of letters, who treats him almoſt as his equal, who carefully ſpares him his voice and his ſpirits, and conſiders his health as a public good!

I do not know, however, whether it was ſparing Virgil to treat him with ſuch affecting marks of friendſhip and eſteem; for an author, after ſuch favours, ſpares himſelf no longer, and ſooner or later conſumes himſelf by his tenacious attachment to his ſtudies.

Virgil immediately after began his Æneid, to which he applied himſelf twelve years. Auguſtus, when employed in the war againſt the Cantabri, preſſed him earneſtly, by ſeveral letters which he wrote him, to ſend him ſome part of the Æneid: but Virgil always excuſed himſelf. He * repreſented to him, that, if he had thought his Æneas worthy of that honour, he ſhould willingly have ſent him to Cæſar; but that he had found the work far more difficult than he imagined it, and that he began to fear, that it was raſhneſs and a kind of madneſs in him to undertake it.

A. M. 3976. An. U. C. 731. On the return of that prince, Virgil could no longer refuſe to ſatisfy his juſt impatience, and accordingly read him the ſecond, fourth, and ſixth books of the Æneid, in the preſence of his ſiſter Octavia. She had ſome time before loſt her ſon M. Claudius Marcellus, a prince of infinite merit; whom Auguſtus intended for his ſucceſſor in the

* De Æneâ quidem meo, ſi mehercule jam dignum auribus haberem tuis, libenter mitterem. Sed tanta inchoata res eſt, ut penè vitio mentis tantam opus ingreſſus mihi videar. *Macrob.* l. 1. c. 24.

empire;

empire. Virgil had given the praiſe of young Marcellus a place in the ſixth book of the Æneid with ſo much addreſs, that it is impoſſible to read it without being exceedingly moved. When he came to this paſſage, the rehearſal of the verſes, which are twenty-ſix in number, made the emperor and Octavia weep immoderately. It is even ſaid, that Octavia ſwooned away at theſe words, *Tu Marcellus eris.* She ordered *(dena ſeſtertia)* ten great ſeſterces to be paid the poet for each of thoſe verſes, which amounted to about ſeventeen hundred pounds ſterling.

Virgil, after having finiſhed the Æneid, deſigned to retire for three years in order to reviſe and poliſh it. He ſet out with this view for Greece. At Athens he met Auguſtus, on his return from the Eaſt, and thought proper to change his purpoſe, and to attend that prince to Rome. He was taken ſick upon the way, and ſtaid behind at Brunduſium. Finding his illneſs increaſe, he earneſtly deſired his manuſcripts to be brought him, in order to throw the Æneid into the fire. Becauſe nobody had complaiſance enough to comply with that requeſt, he ordered that poem, by his will, to be burnt, as an imperfect work. Tucca and Varius, who were with him, repreſented, that Auguſtus would never ſuffer it, and upon that remonſtrance Virgil left his writings to them, upon condition that they would add nothing to them, and leave the hemiſticks as they found them.

Virgil died at Brunduſium, in the 735th year of Rome, aged fifty-two. His bones were carried to Naples, and buried two miles from that city, with this inſcription on his tomb, which he made himſelf, and which in two lines includes the place of his birth, death and burial, with the number of his works: A. M. 3980.

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope, cecini paſcua, rura, duces.

The Epic poem muſt be a work of extreme difficulty, as, during ſo many ages, Greece and Rome ſcarce produced two geniuſſes ſufficiently ſublime to ſuſtain it in all its ſpirit and dignity. And, ſince them, has the world, in any language whatſoever, * poems of this kind that can juſtly be compared with thoſe of Homer and Virgil?

I have obſerved, in ſpeaking of the former, in what manner Virgil had formed the deſign and plan of the Æneid upon the Iliad and Odyſſey of Homer, which gives the original a great advantage over the copy. Paſt ages however have not yet decided to which of the two the preference ought to be given. Till judgment can be paſſed in this point, which in all probability will never happen, we may adhere to Quintilian's opinion, cited before in the article of Homer. † There is, ſays he, more genius and force of nature in Homer; and more art and labour, becauſe more of both was neceſſary, in Virgil. The firſt is indiſputably ſuperior in the grand and the ſublime: the other perhaps makes us amends for what he wants in thoſe points, by the harmony of parts, and the exact equality he ſupports throughout his work. To this we may add, that Virgil did not live to put the laſt hand to his poem, which, without doubt, would have made it much more perfect than it is, though, as we have it, it is of ineſtimable value.

Sueton. in Calig. c. 34. We may moſt certainly aſcribe to Caligula's madneſs the contempt and hatred he expreſſed for Virgil, whoſe writings and portraits he induſtriouſly endeavoured to have baniſhed out of all libraries.

* *It is certain that our* MILTON *was not inferior to either of them in many of the characters of Epic poetry; and that he was in ſome ſuperior to them both, as in the grandeur of his matter, his learning, characters, and the machinery of his work.* See Addiſon on Milton.

† Et hercle, ut illi naturæ cœleſti atque immortali ceſſerimus, ita curæ & diligentiæ vel ideo in hoc plus eſt, quod ei fuit magis laborandum: & quantum eminentioribus vincimur, fortaſſe æqualitate penſamus. *Quintil. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.

He

He had the extravagance to ſay that poet had neither wit nor learning: *nullius ingenî, minimæque doctrinæ.* The emperor Alexander Severus judged very differently of him. He called him the Plato of the poets, and placed his picture, with that of Cicero, in the chapel, where had placed Achilles and other great men. It is highly for the honour of learning to ſee an emperor give poets, orators, and conquerors the ſame rank. Lamprid. Alex. Sever.

In the life of Horace, I ſhall relate a circumſtance in that of Virgil, which in my judgment does him as much or even more honour, than his genius for poetry.

HORACE.

HORACE (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) was of Venuſium, and, as he ſays himſelf, the ſon of a freedman. He was born in the 688th year of Rome. A. M. 3940.

His father, though only a freedman, and of a very moderate fortune, took particular care of his education. Perſons of fortune, and rich officers of the army, contented themſelves with ſending their children to a maſter who taught them to read, write, and caſt accounts. But Horace's father, who had diſcovered in his ſon a fund of genius capable of the greateſt things, had the courage to carry him to Rome, in order to give him ſuch an education as knights and ſenators gave their children. To ſee the manner in which young Horace was dreſſed, and the ſlaves that followed him, one might have taken him, ſays he of himſelf, for the rich heir of a long train of opulent anceſtors; whilſt his father, however, had only a ſmall piece of land for his whole eſtate. He was perhaps exceſſive in this point: but who would venture to condemn him? He was not afraid of ruining either himſelf or his ſon by employing his whole income for his inſtruction, judging a good education the beſt patrimony he could leave him. He did more; Hor. Sat. 6. l. 1.

he took upon himſelf the care of him, ſerved him inſtead of a governor, and went with him to all his maſters:

Ipſe mihi cuſtos incorruptiſſimus omnes
Circum Doctores aderat.

We are charmed with the reſpect and warm gratitude which Horace, during his whole life, expreſſes for ſuch a father. "By his care, ſays he, "he preſerved me free, not only from all acts of "impurity, which is the higheſt praiſe of virtue, "but from all reproach or ſuſpicion of that kind." Let young perſons conſider well theſe words, and remember that it is an Heathen that thinks and ſpeaks in this manner:

Quid multa? Pudicum
Qui primus virtutis honos, ſervavit ab omni
Non ſolum facto, verùm opprobrio quoque turpi.

Horace's father, though a man of no letters or erudition, was of no leſs uſe to his ſon, than the moſt able maſters he could hear. He took pains himſelf to form him, inſtructed him familiarly, and made it his buſineſs to inſpire him with an abhorrence for vice, by pointing it out to him under ſenſible examples. If he would have him avoid ſome criminal action: Could you doubt, ſaid he, to him, whether the action I would have you ſhun be contrary to virtue and your true intereſt, when ſuch an one, who had committed it, is univerſally condemned and deſpiſed for it? That ſuch an one, by his debauched life, has ruined his health and fortune: (and it was here the ſtrokes of ſatyr came in.) On the contrary, if he deſired to recommend ſome good action to his imitation, he cited ſomebody who had done it with ſucceſs; and always

choſe

choſe his examples out of the principal perſons of the ſenate, and thoſe of the greateſt worth.

This manner of inſtructing youth has its great utility, provided it does not degenerate into detraction and ſatire *. For examples make much more impreſſion upon the mind, than any diſcourſes, or precepts of morality. It is in the ſame manner Demea inſtructs his ſon in Terence's Adelphi:

Nihil prætermitto, conſuefacio. Denique
Inſpicere tanquam in ſpeculum in vitas omnium
Jubeo, atque ex aliis ſumere exemplum ſibi.
Hoc facito & hoc fugito, &c. Act. 3. Sc. 3.

"I omit nothing, and gradually accuſtom him "to virtue. In fine, I oblige him to look into "the lives of others, as into a glaſs, and to learn "from their example to imitate the good, and fly "the bad."

If we may believe Horace, it is to theſe paternal inſtructions, received with attention and docility, that he was indebted for being exempt from great failings:

Ex hoc ego ſanus ab illis
Perniciem quæcumque ferunt, mediocribus, & queis
Ignoſcas, vitiis teneor.

But it is alſo to the ſame leſſons he aſcribes, whether out of pleaſantry or otherwiſe, the taſte for ſatire which he retained during his whole life.

He is never weary of expreſſing himſelf upon his good fortune in having ſuch a father, and ſpeaks of him with a gratitude that we cannot ſufficiently eſteem: "As long as I am capable of thinking "with reaſon, I ſhall never be aſhamed of ſo good "a father. I ſhall never imitate the generality, Satyr. 6. l. 1.

* Longum iter eſt per præcepta, breve & efficax per exempla. *Senec. Epiſt.* 6. *l.* 1.

" who, to excuſe the meanneſs of their extraction,
" take care to obſerve, that, if they do not deſcend
" from illuſtrious anceſtors, it is no fault of theirs.
" I think and ſpeak quite differently. For, did
" nature permit us to begin our lives again after a
" certain number of years, and would give us the
" liberty of chuſing ſuch parents as we thought
" fit, others might chuſe theirs by their vanity;
" but, for my part, contented with my own, I
" would not ſeek for noble ones, diſtinguiſhed by
" rods and axes, and curule chairs."

Nil me pœniteat ſanum patris hujus; eoque
Non, ut magna dolo factum negat eſſe ſuo pars,
Quod non ingenuos habeat claroſque parentes,
Sic me defendam. Longè mea diſcrepat iſtis
Et vox & ratio. Nam ſi natura juberet
A certis annis ævum remeare peractum,
Atque alios legere; ad faſtum quoſcunque parentes
Optaret ſibi quiſque: meis contentus, honeſtos
Faſcibus & ſellis nollem mihi ſumere.——

It muſt be confeſſed that there is great meanneſs of ſpirit in bluſhing at meanneſs of birth. The reader no doubt has obſerved, that moſt of the illuſtrious writers hitherto mentioned were of obſcure condition, and that many of them were even ſlaves. Did it ever enter into the thoughts of any man of ſenſe to eſteem them the leſs upon that account? Nobility, riches, office, can they be brought into competition with the talents of the mind, and are they always proofs of merit?

A. M. 3359. When Horace had attained to about nineteen years of age, his father ſent him to ſtudy at Athens, for he would not let him go; and kept him always under his eye, till he was of years to take care of himſelf, and to avoid the corruption of manners which then prevailed. He had ſtudied polite learning at Rome, and had formed his taſte principally by

by reading Homer. He proceeded to more exalted ſcience in Greece, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy. That ſtudy ſeems to have pleaſed him exceedingly, and he extremely regretted leaving ſo agreeable a reſidence ſooner than he deſired. Brutus, paſſing by the way of Athens into Macedonia, carried ſeveral young perſons from thence along with him; of which number was Horace. He made him a tribune of the ſoldiers. Horace had then been four or five years at Athens.

Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuiſſet Achilles.
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ,
Scilicet ut poſſem curvo dignoſcere rectum,
Atque inter ſylvas Academi quærere verum:
Dura ſed emovere loco me tempora grato,
Civiliſque rudem belli tulit æſtus in arma,
Cæſaris Auguſti non reſponſura lacertis.
Epiſt. 2. l. 2.

A year after the battle of Philippi was fought, in which our poet, who was not born for arms, accordingly gave no proofs of his bravery, having taken to flight, and abandoned his buckler, as he confeſſes himſelf:

Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Senſi, relicta non bene parmula. Od. 7. l. 2.

Horace, on his return, was not long before he became known to Mæcenas. It was the excellent Virgil, for ſo he calls him, *optimus Virgilius*, who firſt ſpoke of this dawning merit to his patron. Varius afterwards confirmed what he had ſaid, and ſeconded him. Horace was introduced. When he appeared before Mæcenas, reſpect for a perſon of his grandeur, and his natural timidity, confounded him ſo much, that he ſpoke very little, and with

great hesitation. Mæcenas answered him in few words, according to the custom of the great, after which Horace withdrew. Nine months passed without Horace's hearing any farther, or taking any pains to do so on his side. It might have been thought, that Mæcenas, little pleased with his first visit, which did not seem to argue a man of great parts, had no farther thoughts of Horace. At the expiration of that term, he sent for him, and admitted him into the number of his friends; (these are Horace's own words) and from thenceforth they lived in the greatest intimacy:

Nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit. Optimus olim
Virgilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem.
Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus,
(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari)
Non ego me, &c.
Sed quod eram, narro. Respondes, ut tuus est mos,
Pauca. Abeo: & revocas nono post mense, jubesque
Esse in amicorum numero, Satyr. 6. l. 1.

Custom with us [*in France*] does not allow a man of learning, scarce known as such, to stile himself the friend of so great a lord as Mæcenas. The antients had more simplicity, but at the same time a more noble freedom of manners and greatness of soul. The Roman language, which was born in the bosom of liberty, had nothing of mean and servile in it, and did not admit any of those frivolous compliments with which ours is over-run: *Jubes esse in amicorum numero.*

But what I admire here is the generous behaviour of Virgil. He knew the young poet's merit, and perceived in him a genius formed for success in courts; and the event demonstrated he was not mistaken. He might have apprehended setting himself up in his person a dangerous rival, who from sharing at first in the favour of their common patron,

patron, might afterwards ſupplant him entirely. Virgil had none of theſe thoughts, which ſuit only a mean and ſordid ſpirit, and which he would with reaſon have judged injurious to his friend, and ſtill more ſo to Mæcenas. For the houſe of that favourite was not like thoſe of moſt great lords and miniſters, where every body regards ſolely their own intereſt; where the merit of others gives umbrage, and every thing is carried on by cabal and ſecret colluſion; where fidelity and honour are little known, and where the blackeſt deſigns are often covered under the ſpecious outſides of great friendſhip and affection. "It is not in this manner," ſays Horace to one who promiſed, if he would procure him ever ſo little acceſs to the perſon of Mæcenas, to put him ſoon into a condition of ſupplanting all others in his favour, "it is not thus we live at Mæcenas's. "There never was an houſe of greater integrity, "nor more remote from all intrigue and cabal "than his. A richer, or more learned perſon there, "gives me no manner of pain or umbrage. Every "one there has his due place, and is contented "with it"

——— *Non iſto vivimus illic*
Quo tu rere modo. Domus hac nec purior ulla eſt,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mi officit unquam
Ditior hic, aut eſt quia doctior. Eſt locus uni
Cuique ſuus. Satyr. 9. l. 1.

Mæcenas, from the firſt, did Horace good offices with the prince, againſt whom he had borne arms on the ſide of Brutus. He obtained his pardon, with the reſtitution of his eſtate. From thenceforth Horace began to be very familiar with Mæcenas, and to ſhare in his confidence and pleaſures. He accompanied him in his journey to Brunduſium, as appears from the fifth ſatire of the firſt book.

Horace's credit and reputation increaſed every day by the poems he publiſhed, as well upon the victories

victories of Auguſtus, as other events and various ſubjects, whether odes, ſatires, or epiſtles.

The poet Quintilius Varus, Virgil's relation, being dead, Horace endeavours to conſole his friend upon that occaſion by the xxivth Ode of Book I.

Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus ſopor
Urget? cui pudor, & juſtitiæ ſoror
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,
Quando ullum inveniet parem?
Multis ille quidem flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili.
Tu fruſtra pius, heu, non ita creditum
Poſcis Quinctilium deos.

When Virgil himſelf ſet out for Greece with deſign to employ the leiſure he went thither to find in reviſing, and putting the laſt hand to the Æneid, Horace, upon occaſion of that voyage, compoſed an ode full of vows, which unfortunately were not heard. It is the third of the firſt book:

Sic te diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida ſidera,
Ventorumque regat pater,
Obſtrictis aliis, præter Iapyga,
Navis, quæ tibi creditum
Debes Virgilium; finibus Atticis
Reddas incolumem, precor,
Et ſerves animæ dimidium meæ.

So may th' auſpicious queen of love,
And the twin ſtars, the ſeed of Jove,
And he, who rules the raging wind,
To thee, oh ſacred ſhip, be kind,
And gentle breezes fill thy ſails,
Supplying ſoft Elyſian gales;
As thou to whom the muſe commends
The beſt of poets, and of friends,

Doſt,

Doſt thy committed pledge reſtore,
And land him ſafely on the ſhore,
And ſave the better part of me
From periſhing with him at ſea.
Dryden to Lord Roſcom.

We may judge of Mæcenas's tender friendſhip for Horace by the few words he wrote to Auguſtus in his will: *I conjure you to have the ſame regard for Horace as myſelf.* Auguſtus offered him the employment of ſecretary to himſelf, and wrote for that purpoſe to Mæcenas in theſe terms: *Hitherto I have had no occaſion for any body to write my letters; but at preſent the multiplicity of affairs, and infirmity, make me deſire you to bring our Horace with you. Let him then ceaſe to be a *paraſite at your table, and come to mine to aſſiſt me in writing my letters.* Horace, who was very fond of his liberty, did not think proper to accept ſo honourable an offer, which would have laid him under too great a reſtraint; and excuſed himſelf upon account of his real or pretended infirmities. The prince was not in the leaſt offended by Horace's refuſal of that office, and retained the ſame friendſhip for him as before. Some time after he wrote to him to this effect: † *Believe you have ſome right to be free with me, and pray uſe it, as if we lived together: in doing which, you only act as you may with the juſteſt pretence; for you know it was my deſire, that we ſhould have been upon thoſe terms, if your health would have admitted it.*

With how many reflections does this little circumſtance ſupply us in reſpect to the goodneſs of Auguſtus, the frankneſs of Horace, the eaſy ſim-

* Veniet igitur ab iſta paraſitica menſa ad hanc regiam. *The pleaſantry of Auguſtus turns upon Horace's not being of Mæcenas's family, and conſequently having no right to eat at his table.*

† Sume tibi aliquid juris apud me, tanquam ſi convictor mihi fueris. Rectè enim & non temerè feceris, quoniam id usûs mihi tecum eſſe volui, ſi per valetudinem tuam fieri poſſet. *Suet. in vit. Virg.*

plicity

plicity and unconſtraint of the commerce of the world in thoſe days, and the difference between ours and the manners of the antients? A privy ſecretary at table with an Emperor! A poet refuſes that honour, without the Emperor's taking offence!

Horace's pleaſures were confined to his houſes either in the country of the Sabines, or at Tibur, where, free from care and diſquiet, he enjoyed in an agreeable retreat all the ſweets of leiſure and repoſe, the ſole objects of his wiſhes:

O rus, quando ego te aſpiciam, quandoque licebit
Nunc veterum libris, nunc ſomno & inertibus horis,
Ducere ſollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?

The court, which is ſo pleaſing to the ambitious, was to him only baniſhment and a priſon. He thought he only lived and reſpired when he returned to his dear country abode, where he found himſelf more happy than all the monarchs of the earth:

——Vivo & regno, ſimul iſta reliqui,
Quæ vos ad cœlum effertis clamore ſecundo.

A. M. 3997. Ant. J. C. 7. He died in the conſulſhip of C. Marcius Cenſorinus and C. Aſinius Gallus, at the age of fifty-ſeven, after having nominated Auguſtus his heir before witneſſes, the violence of his illneſs not allowing him time to ſign his will. He was interred at the extremity of the Eſquiline hill in a tomb joining to that of Mæcenas, who died a little before him the ſame year. He had always deſired, and even ſeemed to have bound himſelf by oath, not to ſurvive him:

Ah te meæ ſi partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus æquè, nec ſuperſtes
Integer? Ille dies utramque

Ducet

Ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum
Dixi ſacramentum. Ibimus, ibimus,
Utcumque præcedes, ſupremum
Carpere iter comites parati.

Od. 17. l. 2.

The works of Horace conſiſt only of his Odes, Satires, and Epiſtles, with the Art of Poetry.

I have ſpoken of his Odes, and given their character, in comparing them with thoſe of Pindar.

His Satires and Epiſtles are, in my opinion, of ineſtimable value. They are void of all ſhew and glitter. Their ſtile is generally a kind of proſe in verſe, that has neither the pomp nor even the ſweetneſs and harmony of poetical meaſures. This does not proceed from the incapacity of Horace to make fine verſes. Does not the paſſage by which he excuſes his want of ſufficient talents for celebrating the actions of Auguſtus, demonſtrate how capable he was of it?

——— Cupidum, pater optime, vires
Deficiunt. Neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
Agmina, nec fracta pereuntes cuſpide Gallos,
Aut labentis equo deſcribat vulnera Parthi.

Sat. 1. l. 2.

Is there in any poet a deſcription of greater elegance, expreſſion, and energy, or one that paints a fact in livelier colours, than that of the country mouſe's entertainment of the city mouſe?

——— Olim
Ruſticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
Accepiſſe cavo, veterem vetus hoſpes amicum:
Aſper, & attentus quæſitis; ut tamen arctum
Solveret hoſpitiis animum. Quid multa? Neq; illi
Sepoſiti ciceris, nec longæ invidit avenæ:
Aridum & ore ferens acinum, ſemeſaque lardi

Fruſta

Fruſta dedit, cupiens variâ faſtidia cœnâ
Vincere tangentis malè ſingula dente ſuperbo.
Sat. 6. l. 2.

The reſt of the fable is in the ſame taſte.

This elegance, this grace and ſpirit of language and images are not (generally ſpeaking) to be found either in the ſatires or epiſtles. What is it then that affects us ſo agreeably in reading them? It is the delicacy, urbanity, fine raillery, and eaſy manner, which prevail in them: it is a certain air and vigour of nature, ſimplicity, and truth: it is even that affected negligence in the meaſure of the verſes, which ſtill adds a more native air to the ſenſe, an effect the * Marotic ſtile has in our language: it is a fund of reaſon, good ſenſe, and judgment, that ſhews itſelf every-where; with a wonderful art in painting the characters of men, and placing their faults and ridicule in full light. Only great and peculiar beauty and force of genius can make ſuch lively impreſſions as theſe on the mind, without the help of poetical graces, numbers, and harmony.

Quintilian contents himſelf, after having ſpoken of Lucilius, with ſaying, "that † Horace has abundantly more elegance and purity of ſtile, and "that he excels in criticiſing the manners and vices "of men."

The art of poetry, with ſome of the ſatires and epiſtles that turn upon the ſame ſubject, include whatever is moſt eſſential in regard to the rules of poetry. This little eſſay may be conſidered as an excellent abridgment of rhetoric, and highly proper to form the taſte.

I ſay nothing of the manners of Horace. To judge of him only by certain paſſages in his works,

* *The ſtile of C. Marot, a French poet, in which Fontaine followed and excelled him. Its characters are the natural, ſimple, humorous, and antique, of which laſt it affects the terms.*

† Multo eſt terſior ac purus magis Horatius, & ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus. *Lib.* 10. *c.* 1.

one

one would take him for the moſt virtuous man in the world, and even an auſtere philoſopher. If we may believe him, "he finds all time long and "tedious, but that which he employs in the ſole "object worthy of our cares, which is equally uſe-"ful to rich and poor, and when neglected is alike "pernicious to youth and age."

Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quæ ſpem
Conſiliumque morantur agendi gnaviter id quod
Æquè pauperibus prodeſt, locupletibus æquè,
Æquè neglectum ſenibus puerisque nocebit.

At bottom he is a true Epicurean, ſolely intent upon his pleaſures, and ſo looſe in his ſentiments and expreſſions, that, as Quintilian ſays of him, a man of breeding or morality would not willingly explain certain paſſages in his works: *Horatium in quibuſdam nolim interpretari.* This does not prevent his having excellent maxims of morality. It is with Horace as with the reſt of the Heathen authors. When it does not claſh with their darling paſſion, and the queſtion is to lay down fine principles, not to put them in practice, they not only ſpeak the moſt refined truths and the moſt elegant reaſon, but often even religion, in the moſt beautiful and juſt terms. This we ought to conſider as the precious remains of the eſteem for beauty and perfection implanted in the heart of man by the Author of nature, and which his corruption could not entirely extinguiſh.

OVID.

OVID *(Publius Ovidius Naſo)* of the Equeſtrian order, was born in the conſulſhip of Hirtius and Panſa, as well as Tibullus, in the 709th year of Rome. A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43.

He ſtudied eloquence under Arellius Fuſcus, and declaimed in his ſchool with great ſucceſs. Senec. Contr. 10. l. 2.

He

He had by nature ſo ſtrong an inclination for verſifying, that to indulge it, he renounced all care of his fortune. But if this propenſity to verſe entirely extinguiſhed in him the flame of ambition, on the contrary it nouriſhed and augmented that of love, a moſt pernicious paſſion to thoſe who abandon themſelves wholly to it.

His father ſaw him quit the uſual courſe of the Roman youth with pain; and abſolutely renounce the hopes of honours and offices, to purſue an unhappy taſte that tended to nothing, and of which no doubt he foreſaw all the bad effects. He ſpoke to him in the ſtrongeſt terms, made uſe of remonſtrances and intreaties, aſking him what advantage he could propoſe to himſelf from that frivolous ſtudy, and whether he imagined he ſhould excel Homer either in reputation or fortune, who died poor? The lively reproaches of his father made an impreſſion upon him. In deference to his advice, he determined to make no more verſes, to write in proſe, and to qualify himſelf for the employments that ſuited young men of his rank. Whatever efforts he made, or pretended to make, nature ſtill prevailed. Ovid was a poet in ſpite of himſelf: the feet and numbers roſe of themſelves under his pen, and every thing he attempted to write, was verſe.

Sæpe pater dixit: ſtudium quid inutile tentas?
Mæonides nullas ipſe reliquit opes.
Motus eram dictis, totoque Helicone relicto
Scribere conabar verba ſoluta modis.
Sponte ſua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos;
Et, quod tentabam ſcribere, verſus erat.

He compoſed with wonderful facility, and could not give himſelf the trouble to retouch his verſes; all fire in compoſing, and all ice in correcting, as he tells us himſelf.

The

The negligence of his ſtile might be forgiven, if it was not attended with unbounded licentiouſneſs in point of manners, and if he had not filled his poems with filth and obſcenity. Auguſtus made them the pretext for baniſhing him: a very laudable motive, if the real one, for that conduct. Such poets are poiſon and contagion to the public, with whom all commerce ought to be prohibited, and their poems to be abhorred as the bane of mankind. But this was only pretext. A ſecret cauſe of diſcontent, of which Ovid often ſpeaks in his verſes, but in general terms and without explaining it, that has always remained unknown, was the cauſe of his misfortune.

He was baniſhed to Tomos, a city of Pontus in Europe upon the Euxine ſea, near the mouths of the Danube. The emperor neither confiſcated his eſtate, nor cauſed him to be condemned by a decree of the ſenate, and made uſe of the term *relegare*, which, in the Roman law, is of more gentle conſtruction than *to baniſh*.

He was in the fifty-firſt year of his age, when he ſet out from Rome to Tomos, and had compoſed his Metamorphoſes before his diſgrace. On his condemnation to quit Rome he threw it into the fire, either out of indignation, or becauſe he had not put the laſt hand to, and entirely finiſhed it:

Carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas,
Infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus:
Hæc ego diſcedens, ſicut bona multa meorum,
Ipſe mea poſui mœſtus in igne manu.

Triſt. l. 1. Eleg. 6. & l. 3. Eleg. 14.

Some copies, which had before been taken of that work, prevented its being loſt.

The place to which he was ſent was a real place of puniſhment to him: he gives us terrible deſcriptions of it in ſeveral parts of his poems. What

diſtreſſed him moſt there was his being expoſed to the ſevere coldneſs of the climate, in the neighbourhood of a barbarous and warlike people, who were always in arms, and giving him perpetual apprehenſions: a melancholy ſituation for a delicate Italian, who had paſſed his life in a mild and agreeable climate, and had always enjoyed eaſe and tranquillity!

Though he could not obtain either to be recalled, or to have the place of his baniſhment changed, he never failed in his reſpect for the emperor, and perſiſted unalterably in praiſing him with an exceſs next to idolatry. He may even be ſaid to have literally and actually idoliſed him, when he was informed of his death. He not only wrote a poem in his praiſe in the Getic language, to make him known and reſpected by thoſe barbarous nations; but invoked him alſo, and conſecrated a chapel to him, where he went every morning to offer incenſe, and adore him:

Nec pietas ignota mea eſt: videt hoſpita terra
In noſtra ſacrum Cæſaris eſſe domo.
Hic ego do toties cum thure precantia verba,
Eoo quoties ſurgit ab orbe dies.

De Ponto, l. 4. Epiſt. 19.

The ſucceſſor and family of that prince had a great ſhare in all this worſhip, and were evidently the real objects of it. Ovid, however, did not find it a remedy for his misfortunes. The court was as inexorable under Tiberius as before. He died in his baniſhment the fourth year of that emperor's reign, and the 771ſt of Rome, at about fifty years of age, after having been nine or ten years in Pontus.

He had deſired, in caſe he died in the country of the Getæ, that his aſhes might be carried to Rome, in order that he might not continue an exile after his

his death, and that the following epitaph might be inſcribed on his tomb:

Hic ego qui jaceo tenerorum luſor amorum,
Ingenio perii Naſo poëta meo.
At tibi, qui tranſis, ne ſit grave, quiſquis amâſti,
Dicere: Naſonis molliter oſſa cubent.

Here Naſo lies, who ſung of ſoft deſire,
Victim of too much wit, and too much fire.
Say, who have lov'd, whene'er you paſs theſe ſtones,
Light lie the earth on hapleſs Naſo's bones.

Ovid apprehended the immortality of the ſoul, (with more reaſon than he thought) and deſired that it might periſh with the body, for he did not care that his ſhade ſhould wander amongſt thoſe of the Sauromatæ. Hence he deſired that his bones might at leaſt have a grave at Rome:

Atque utinam pereant animæ cum corpore noſtræ,
Effugiatque avidos pars mea nulla rogos.
Nam ſi morte carens vacuas volat altus in auras
Spiritus, & Samii ſunt rata dicta ſenis;
Inter Sarmaticas Romana vagabitur umbras,
Perque feros manes hoſpita ſemper erit.
Oſſa tamen facito parva referantur in urna:
Sic ego non etiam mortuus exul ero.

He had compoſed both before and after his baniſhment a great number of verſes, of which many are loſt; and it were to be wiſhed that ſtill leſs had come down to us. His Medea is extolled for a perfect tragedy, which ſhews, ſays Quintilian, in whoſe time it was extant, of what that poet was capable, if, inſtead of abandoning himſelf to the luxuriance of his too eaſy and fertile genius, he had choſen rather to check, than indulge, its rapidity: *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi oſtendere quantum vir ille præſtare potuerit, ſi ingenio ſuo temperare quam indulgere maluiſſet.* Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

The ſame Quintilian paſſes his judgment upon this poet's works in few, but very juſt and expreſſive, words, and which, in my opinion, perfectly characteriſe them: *Laſcivus quidem in Heroicis quoque Ovidius, & nimium amator ingenii ſui: laudandus tamen in partibus.* And, indeed, Ovid's great fault is redundance, which occaſions his being too looſe and diffuſed, and proceeded from the warmth and abundance of his genius, and his affecting wit at the expence of greatneſs and ſolidity; *laſcivus.* Every thing he threw upon paper pleaſed him. He had for all his productions a more than paternal indulgence, which would not permit him to retrench, or ſo much as alter, any thing. *Nimium amator ingenii ſui.* It muſt however be confeſſed, that he is admirable in parts: *laudandus tamen in partibus.* Thus in his Metamorphoſes, which is indiſputably the fineſt of his works, there are a great number of paſſages of exquiſite beauty and taſte. And this was the work he valued moſt himſelf, and from which he principally expected the immortality of his name:

Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.

Metam. lib. 15. in fine.

TIBULLUS and PROPERTIUS.

Theſe two poets, who flouriſhed at very near the ſame time, and excelled in the ſame kind of poetry, are judged to have wrote with great purity of ſtile and delicacy. Tibullus is preferred to Propertius.

PHÆDRUS.

PHÆDRUS, a native of Thrace, Auguſtus's freedman, wrote in the time of Tiberius. We have five books of Fables, compoſed by this author in Iambic

bic verſe, which himſelf called Æſop's fables, becauſe he made that inventor of them his model; from whom he has alſo often borrowed the ſubject of his fables:

Æſopus auctor quam materiam repperit,
Hanc ego polivi verſibus ſenariis. Prolog. l. 1.

He declares, from the beginning of his work, that this little book has two advantages; which are to amuſe and divert the reader, and at the ſame time to ſupply him with wiſe counſels for the conduct of life:

Duplex libelli dos eſt, quòd riſum movet,
Et quòd prudenti vitam conſilio monet. Ibid.

And indeed, beſides that the ſubjects of this work, in which beaſts, and even trees, are introduced ſpeaking with wit, are diverting in themſelves, the manner in which they were treated has all the beauty and elegance it is poſſible to throw into it; ſo that Phædrus may be ſaid to have uſed in his fables the language of nature herſelf, ſo plain and ſimple is his ſtile, and at the ſame time ſo full of wit and delicacy.

They are no leſs valuable in reſpect to the wiſe counſels and ſolid morals they contain. I have obſerved elſewhere, in ſpeaking of Æſop, how much this manner of inſtructing was in honour and uſe amongſt the antients, and the value the moſt learned men ſet upon it. Were we only to conſider theſe fables by the advantage to be made of them in the education of children, to whom, under the appearance of agreeable ſtories, they begin ſo early to propoſe principles of probity and wiſdom, we could not but conceive highly of their merit. Phædrus has carried his views ſtill farther: there is no age, nor condition, but may find excellent maxims in them for the conduct of life. As virtue is everywhere

where treated with honour and crowned with glory in them; ſo they repreſent the Vices, as injuſtice, calumny, violence, in lively but frightful colours, which make them the contempt, hatred, and deteſtation of every body. And this undoubtedly was what exaſperated Sejanus againſt him, and expoſed him to extreme danger under a miniſter, who was the irreconcileable enemy of all merit and virtue. Phædrus mentions neither the cauſe, any particular circumſtance, nor the event of this animoſity. He only complains that all the forms of juſtice are violated in regard to him, having his declared enemy Sejanus himſelf for his accuſer, witneſs, and judge:

Quòd ſi accuſator alius Sejano foret,
Si teſtis alius, judex alius denique,
Dignum faterer eſſe me tantis malis.
In Prolog. l. 3.

It is very probable, that unworthy favourite, who inſolently abuſed his maſter's confidence, had taken offence at ſome ſtrokes in thoſe fables, which might be applied to him. But, as there was no name to them, his making that application was confeſſing, or at leaſt knowing, himſelf guilty; Phædrus having no other view than to laſh the vices of mankind in general, as he expreſly declares:

Suſpicioni ſi quis errabit ſua,
Et rapiet ad ſe quod erit commune omnium;
Stultè nudabit animi conſcientiam.
Huic excuſatum me velim nihilominus.
Neque enim notare ſingulos mens eſt mihi,
Verùm ipſam vitam & mores hominum oſtendere.
Ibid.

Neither the time, place, nor any other circumſtance of his death are known. He is believed to have ſurvived Sejanus, who died in the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.

Phædrus

Phædrus has given a very honourable teſtimony of himſelf, in declaring that he had baniſhed all deſire of riches from his heart:

Quamvis in ipſa natus penè ſim ſchola,
Curamque habendi penitus corde eraſerim. Ibid.

He does not ſeem either ſo indifferent or diſintereſted with regard to praiſe, and is very apt to ſpeak of his own merit. It was indeed ſo great, that we have nothing more excellent than his fables come down to us from the antient world, I mean in the ſimple and natural kind.

It is ſurpriſing that with all this merit Phædrus ſhould be ſo little known and celebrated by antient authors. Only two ſpeak of him, Martial and Avienus; and it is ſtill doubted, whether the verſes of the firſt, that mention Phædrus, mean our author. So learned a man as Caſaubon did not know that there was ſuch a book as Phædrus in the world, till the edition publiſhed at Troyes, by Peter Pithou, in 1596. The latter ſent one of them to F. Sirmond, who was then at Rome. That jeſuit ſhewed it to the Learned there, who at firſt judged it ſpurious. But upon a nearer examination they changed their opinion, and believed that they ſaw ſome characters of the Auguſtan age in it. Father Vavaſſeur relates this little circumſtance with his uſual elegance. Epig. 20. l. 3. In Tract. de Ludicra dict.

Fontaine, who carrried this kind of writing to its higheſt perfection in the French language, by treading in the ſteps of Phædrus, has, however, differed greatly from his original. Whether he thought the French language not ſuſceptible of that happy ſimplicity, which charms and tranſports all perſons of taſte in the Latin authors; or found that manner of writing did not ſuit his genius; he formed a ſtile entirely peculiar to himſelf, of which perhaps the Latin tongue itſelf is incapable, and

and which, without being leſs elegantly plain and natural, is more humorous, more various, eaſy, and full of graces, but graces which have nothing of pomp, ſwell, and affectation, and which only ſerve to render the ſenſe and circumſtances more gay and amuſing.

The ſame, in my opinion, may be ſaid in reſpect to Terence and Moliére. They both excel in their way, and have carried comedy to the higheſt perfection to which perhaps it is capable of attaining. But their way of writing is different. Terence excels Moliére in purity, delicacy, and elegance of language. But then the French poet is infinitely above Terence in the conduct and plan of his plays, which form one of the principal beauties of dramatic poems; and eſpecially in the juſtneſs and variety of his characters. He has perfectly obſerved the precept Horace gives poets who would ſucceed in this way of writing, that is, to copy nature in the manners and inclinations of men, which age and condition vary exceedingly:

Ætatis cujuſque notandi ſunt tibi mores,
Mobilibuſque decor naturis dandus & annis.
Horat. in Art. Poet.

End of the SECOND VOLUME.

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